# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

La Union Del Pueblo Entero, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

### **APPENDIX H**

February 28, 2023

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1
               IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
 2
                      SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
 3
     LA UNION DEL PUEBLO
 4
     ENTERO, ET AL.,
 5
                Plaintiffs,
                                 ) Case No. 5:21-CV-844-XR
 6
     vs.
 7
     GREGORY W. ABBOTT, ET AL.,)
                Defendants.
 8
 9
     OCA-GREATER HOUSTON,
     ET AL.,
10
                Plaintiffs,
11
                                 ) Case No. 1:21-CV-780-XR
     vs.
12
     JANE NELSON, ET AL.,
13
               Defendants.
14
     HOUSTON JUSTICE, ET AL.,
15
                Plaintiffs,
16
                                 ) Case No. 5:21-CV-848-XR
     vs.
17
     GREGORY WAYNE ABBOTT,
18
     ET AL.,
19
                Defendants.
20
     LULAC TEXAS, ET AL.,
21
                Plaintiffs,
                                 ) Case No. 1:21-CV-0786-XR
22
     vs.
23
     JANE NELSON, ET AL.,
24
                Defendants.
25
     MI FAMILIA VOTA, ET AL.,
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February 28, 2023
Pages 2 to 5

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Page 2
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               Plaintiffs.
 1
                                                                     APPEARANCES OF COUNSEL:
                                                                 2
                                                                     For Plaintiff HOUSTON JUSTICE, HOUSTON AREA URBAN
                                                                     LEAGUE, DELTA SIGMA BETA SORORITY, INC., THE ARC OF
 2
     vs.
                                                                     TEXAS, MI FAMILIA VOTA, MARLA LOPEZ, MARLIN LOPEZ,
                                                                 3
                                 ) Case No. 5:21-CV-0920-XR
                                                                     PAUL RUTLEDGE, JEFFREY LAMAR CLEMENS:
     GREG ABBOTT, ET AL.,
                                                                     NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND
                                                                     BY: VICTOR GENECIN, ESQUIRE
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               Defendants.
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     UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
                                                                     New York, New York 10006
                                                                     (929) 388-9246
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               Plaintiff,
                                                                     vgenecin@naacpldf.org
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                                                                     For Defendant GREGORY W. ABBOTT AND JANE NELSON, ET
     vs.
                                 ) Case No. 5:21-CV-1085-XR
                                                               10
 8
     THE STATE OF TEXAS,
                                                                     KEN PAXTON. ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS
                                                                     OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
     ET AL.,
                                                               11
                                                                          DAVID BRYANT, ESQUIRE
 9
                                                                          KATHLEEN T. HUNKER, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom
                                                                12
               Defendants.
                                                                     Videoconference)
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11
             **********
12
                                                               14
                                                                     david.bryant@oag.texas.gov
13
               ORAL AND VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF
                                                               15
14
                       JACQUELYN CALLANEN
                                                                     For Defendant UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:
                                                               16
                       FEBRUARY 28, 2023
15
                                                                     U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
                                                               17
16
                                                                     CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
17
                                                                18
                                                                     BY: DANA PAIKOWSKY, ESQUIRE
                                                                     Robert F. Kennedy Building
18
               THE ORAL AND VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION of
                                                               19
                                                                     950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
19
     JACQUELYN CALLANEN, produced as a witness at the
                                                                     Washington, District of Columbia 20530 (202) 353-5225
2.0
     instance of the Defendant, and duly sworn, was taken
                                                                20
21
     in the above styled and numbered cause on Tuesday,
                                                                     dana.paikowsky@usdoj.gov
                                                               21
2.2
     the 28th day of February, 2023 from 9:10 a.m. to
                                                                22
     3:51 p.m., before PAMELA SUE PETERSON, Certified
23
                                                                23
24
     Shorthand Reporter in and for the State of Texas,
                                                                24
     reported by stenographic and computer-aided
25
                                                               25
                                                                                                                       Page 5
 1
     transcription, at the Office of the Texas Attorney
                                                                     APPEARANCES OF COUNSEL (Continued):
                                                                     For Witness JACQUELYN F. CALLANEN, CERA: JOE D. GONZALES, CRIMINAL DISTRICT ATTORNEY
 2
     General, Weston Centre, 112 East Pecan Street,
                                                                 3
                                                                     OFFICE OF BEXAR COUNTY CRIMINAL DISTRICT ATTORNEY
 3
     3rd Floor, San Antonio, Texas 78205, pursuant to the
                                                                          LISA V. CUBRIEL, ESQUIRE
     Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the provisions
                                                                     Paul Elizondo Tower
                                                                     101 West Nueva
 5
     stated on the record or attached hereto.
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                                                                     San Antonio, Texas 78205-3030
 6
                                                                     (210) 335-2142
                                                                     lisa.cubriel@bexar.org
 8
                                                                     Also Present:
                                                                9
 9
                                                                     JACQUELYN F. CALLANEN, CERA
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                                                                          Witness
10
                                                                     JULIA R. LONGORIA (Via Zoom Videoconference)
                                                                11
11
                                                                          Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational
                                                               12
                                                                          Fund, Inc.
12
                                                                13
                                                                     CAROLINE LEBAL (Via Zoom Videoconference)
                                                                     NATALIE FELSEN (Via Zoom Videoconference)
13
                                                               14
                                                                          Cooley, LLP
                                                                          On behalf of El Paso County Elections
                                                                          Administrator Lisa Wise
15
                                                                     MARINA EISNER (Via Zoom Videoconference)
                                                               16
                                                                          States United Democracy Center
16
                                                               17
                                                                     LOUIS J. CAPOZZI (Via Zoom Videoconference)
17
                                                               18
                                                                          Jones Day
On behalf of intervenors
18
                                                               19
19
                                                                     KEVIN ZHEN (Via Zoom Videoconference)
                                                                          Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, LLP On behalf of LUPE Plaintiffs
                                                               20
2.0
                                                               21
21
                                                                     JOSEPHINE RAMIREZ SOLIS (Via Zoom Videoconference)
2.2
                                                               22
                                                                          Office of Criminal District Attorney
                                                                          Hidalgo County
23
                                                               23
                                                                          On behalf of Hidalgo County Elections
24
                                                               24
25
                                                                     GABE HODGE (Via Zoom Videoconference)
                                                                          Observer
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#### Page 38

1 other site, sir. We have a fantastic relationship

- with the City of San Antonio. And so, when they open
- a library, a public library, we're there.
- 4 Well, a few years ago the City of
- 5 San Antonio passed a bond election. And the bond
- 6 election was for remodeling of their libraries. And
- 7 so, we had issues -- I hate that word. We had issues
- 8 with one of their time schedules on their library.
- 9 We were to be able to be moved back into Memorial
- 10 Library. And due to supply chain issues, they didn't
- 11 open. They -- they didn't complete their work in
- 12 time.
- 13 So at the last minute, where we thought we 14 would be at Memorial Library, we had to go back to
- 15 our alternate site of West Point. So, it's issues
- 16 like that that we just take it right up to the wall
- 17 because we -- we -- the voters know to go to Memorial
- 18 Library. So, we had to post a big sign and move them
- 19 on.
- 20 Q. Did you become aware of any complaints in 21 connection with the general election in November of
- 22 2022 regarding the number or distribution of polling
- 23 places or vote centers?
- 24 A. Yes, sir.
- 25 Q. Could you describe what you became aware

- 1 you pull up and you go in and you're right in the
  - 2 foyer, we're going to put you back around into the
  - 3 gymnasium or we're going to allow you to have access
  - 4 to the library.
  - 5 So, that complied with it, so we have the
  - 6 voting site there. But what we ended up finding out
  - 7 was, for a lot of our senior citizens and a lot of
  - our ADA, the longer walk then became problematic.
  - 9 They did it, but then we took calls of they -- you
  - 10 know, weren't -- why did we do it? Why did we move
  - 11 it there? And so, again, lessons learned.
  - 12 So, you know, we went back and have worked
  - 13 with the school districts. And so, with the
  - 14 legislative session up there now, we are hoping and
  - 15 praying that they will mandate that election day is a
  - 16 school holiday or an in-service day because there
  - 17 shouldn't be that angst.
  - 18 Q. Are you aware of anyone who was unable to
  - 19 vote or was dissuaded from voting on election day in
  - 20 November of 2022 in Bexar County because of the issue
  - 21 that you just described?
  - 22 A. No.
  - 23 Q. Okay. Let's talk about mail-in ballots.
  - 24 A. Uh-huh.
  - 25 Q. Have there been procedure changes since the

Page 39

Page 41 1 primaries in the first half of 2022 with respect to

- 2 mail-in ballots in Bexar County that were in place in
- 3 connection with the general election in November of
- 4 2022?

5

6

- A. Huge changes.
- Q. Okay. Could you generally describe those.
- 7 A. SB-1 when it was first rolled out,
- obviously, for the primary, came very late into our
- world. And I had just said the supply chain issue.
- 10 We -- SB-1 mandated that we needed all new election
- 11 envelopes and all -- everything new because of the
- requirement and the language and -- and the ID and 12
- 13 the ID requirements and the perf lines on them.

14 And so, we -- we managed to get -- we got

15 them at the 11th hour, but we did it and it caused us

16 stress and the voters were anxious because their

17 ballots weren't getting there.

18 So -- and we had a number of our voters in

March and -- and May that their ballots were

20 rejected, the applications were rejected, because

21 SB-1 required either the TDL or the SSN.

22 And I would like to remind you that most of

our voters by mail are senior citizens who registered 23

24 years and years ago when it was not required to give

25 either an SSN or a TDL.

1 of?

2 A. I'm -- I'm respectful of the fact, and we

3 have to keep ever most in our mind, that on May 24th

- 4 we had the shooting in Uvalde. And so here in Bexar
- 5 County, 68 percent of our poll sites are in schools,
- 6 and the schools didn't want us. They -- after --
- 7 after the Uvalde, you know, the horrendous shooting
- 8 over there, they didn't want the elections to be
- 9 on-site when the students were there.

10 So, we met with Region 20, which is our --

11 all of our school districts, and we had some great

12 leadership. We have 13 different school districts in

13 Bexar County, and we had great leadership from some

14 of ours, and they chose to make election day an 15 in-service day so there would not be students. So,

16 for a portion of our normal sites we were --

17 everything was fine.

24

18 But for the school districts that chose not 19 to make it an in-service day, the students were

20 there. And so, what happened in a few of our sites 21 is, now we're trying make amends. You know, they --22 they want to keep the students safe. We need to say,

23 and of course, they can't refuse us if we ask them.

And so, the accommodation was, okay, 25 instead of putting you in the foyer where, you know,



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#### Page 42

So, the way the law was written is, the 2 ABBM had to have one of those numbers and we had to 3 match one of those numbers with the original voter

4 registration card, well, we couldn't do it. We

didn't have it. We didn't have it on record.

And so then we would -- as we rejected it, we had to send them a new ABBM and a new voter registration card so that they could send it back and update their records.

10 Well, as -- as you know, I mean, I'm not 11 going to go back and beat a dead horse. But that 12 procedure, because of the problematic rollout of it, 13 was worked on and worked on and worked on, and the --14 the State was able to work with DPS somehow and we 15 were able to get...

16 I'm not technical, but they were able to 17 take all of our voters and mash them against DPS and 18 get the license numbers, or TDLs for a number of our 19 voters. So, by the time we were into the May 20 elections, we had a much more robust database. And 21 so, we were able to make these matches much -- much. 22 much better.

23 And then there was a court case that the 24 State lost that required the language on the 25 envelopes that we had to be changed. Again, now

A. Yes. 1

> 2 Q. Okay. And what was the overall effect of

3 the changes as you observed them in October and

4 November of 2022 as compared to the previous -- the

5 first half of 2022?

6 A. I -- I'm proud to say that -- that the 7 changes that we effected here in Bexar County we did

a lot of it on our own from our media outreach, to --

to -- I'll show you how we -- we developed an insert

10 for the ballot. I mean, we did a lot of outreach on

11 our own, and we had a much, much higher success rate

in November. So, it was -- it was a huge relief. 12

13 Q. And when you refer to a success rate, could 14 you explain what you mean by that.

15 A. Well, again, in -- in every -- in every 16 election, in the mail balloting process, we'll send 17 out -- I mean, let's just say on this one, like, 18 we'll send out 40,000. And when it's time to

19 actually count the mail ballots, you're down to

20 30,000, 30-, 32,000.

And to a layperson out there, they're like, 22 where did the other ones go? Well, you sent out this 23 many, why don't you have this many back? Well, human 24 nature enters into it a lot.

25 And about probably anywhere eight to

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21

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1 we're problematic. We have -- we have the old ones. 2 And so, do we sit there with a Sharpie and black out all of these or do we order more?

And so, again, I mean, we're not the only county that was doing this. I mean, everyone was, sort of, you know, really, really pushing it and it worked. I mean, we were -- we were able to do it.

I think the blessing in all of this is that in 2022, which is, you know, the gubernatorial 10 elections, those election have --

Q. You're talking about the general elections?

12 A. General elections from the primary, that 13 whole year is much smaller than a presidential year. 14 And so, you know, we had 40,000 mail ballots, mail 15 ballot applications in 2022. Where in 2020, we had 16 124,000. So, again, you can see that it was an 17 economy of scale, and we were much -- it was much 18 easier to manage the -- the economy of scale that we 19 did. But it was -- it was strenuous.

20 Q. Have you described all of the changes that 21 occurred in the -- the mail-in ballot procedures 22 between the primaries in the first half of 2022 and 23 the procedures that were in place for the general 24 election in November -- in October of 2022 in Bexar 25 County?

Page 45 1 10 percent of the people who get a mail ballot will

2 return that mail ballot and go vote in person because

3 they use that mail ballot as a sample ballot. We

4 have issues with that because, obviously, the mail

5 ballots cost a lot of money, time, you know, people.

6 Anyhow, I won't go into all those details. So, we 7 don't get those back.

9 that are rejected for obvious reasons. You know, 10 they didn't sign it. They signed -- what we see in a 11 number of things is, a husband and wife will each get 12 their ballot, but when it comes back in to us, the 13 husband has signed the wife's ballot and vice versa.

Then you have the ones that are mailed in

14 And so, those have to go out and be rejected to come

back so that we have the right signature with the 15 16 right ballot.

17 So, there's any number of reasons why this 18 happens. And in any normal election, we're going to 19 get a reject rate of three percent, four percent. 20 That's normal for -- for any election for us. But

21 when we did November 2022, with all of our extra

22 attention to it, we had a 1.7. So we were, like,

23 yes.

24 Q. You had a 1.7?

25 A. Rejection rate.



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#### Page 50

So, because we have that vendor, we use it 2 for our mail ballots. We use it for our early

3 voting. It's a wonderful system. And they have 4 codes that we can put in for no signature, no

5 matching TDL, SSN. And we -- we have those codes

6 that come out.

7

18

And so, we can differentiate if -- if 8 needed to exactly how many didn't sign it, you know, 9 how many -- the -- we're still working on -- working 10 with the vendor to update the codes so that we can

11 capture more of the information from SB-1 on the

12 cure, not cured, you know.

13 We sent it by, we called them on the phone 14 or that detail's not in our system yet, so it's not

15 mat- -- it doesn't match up -- the State doesn't have 16 it in their system. So, this is a work in progress.

17 We're all learning and it's only getting better.

But again, there are third-party vendors

19 involved in, I think they said -- I think I'll 20 probably be wrong, but I think they said there were 21 31 counties that were not on TEAM real time. That

22 may have changed, but don't hold me to that 31.

23 Q. Is the information that Bexar County 24 captures on its software regarding the specific 25 reasons a mail-in ballot is rejected provided to the 1 those. We have those. And again, it's human nature.

2 If we have time to correct it, if the voter has time

to correct it, they can do it.

4 Q. What was the rejection rate in Bexar County for 2020, if you recall? 5

A. I don't have that exactly, but I know it's 6

7 going to be in the three to four percent range.

8 Q. Okay.

9 A. I mean, that -- that was like our happy 10 zone.

11 Q. What was your -- well, explain to me what

12 you mean by the "happy zone."

13 A. Again, if one person doesn't get to vote,

14 that hits us. I mean, that's what we do. But if

15 you've gone through and you've had, you know, 124,000

16 ballots mailed out and -- and you've counted 92,000

17 and these others have been, you know, brought back to

18 you and not -- they just sit them on the shelf,

19 that's a good feeling.

20 But again, when the reject -- rejected

21 rate -- and again, please understand that the

22 rejected rate comes from partisan people because

23 we -- the election's office handles the manual part

24 of it. You know, we print the ballots. We take the

25 applications. We data enter. We mail them. We

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8

18

1 State?

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A. Yes. It -- it goes up every day in that 2 export and that import.

4 Q. Okay. You testified that the rejection rate for Bexar County in the -- the general election

in November of 2022, if I understand correctly, was

approximately 1.7 percent? 7

A. Yes, sir.

9 Q. And my impression is that you take some 10 satisfaction in having gotten the number down to that

11 point; is that correct?

12 A. Absolutely. I'm so proud of my staff.

13 Q. How does that compare with the rejection

14 rate in 2020 in Bexar County?

A. Again, as -- as I said, 2020 had a

16 higher rejection rate because just on the economy of

17 scale, when we're talking approximately 40,000 in

18 2022, but 124,000 in 2020, you can see you're going

19 to have a higher rejection rate based on -- you know,

20 the rejection's are the same no matter what election 21 you're doing.

22 If somebody doesn't sign their ballot, they 23 don't sign their ballot and that happens every time.

24 The only new thing this time was the TDL or the SSN, 25 the missing -- the missing information, but we have

1 bring them back in. We scan them.

2

And then once they're back, they get turned

over to the early ballot board. And that early 3

4 ballot board is a group of people that are appointed

by the Democrat and the Republican party. They are

not our employees. They are independent -- an independent body. 7

And so, once we turn these over to them,

9 they are the ones who will make the decision that

10 there's no signature, or this person didn't sign it,

11 that signature doesn't match, whatever that's that

12 group. And then that's where we get the rejection

13 rate, the final rejection rate.

14 Q. How did Bexar County's 1.7 percent

15 rejection rate in the general election in 2022

16 compare to the rejection rate in general election

17 years prior to 2020?

A. It was less. I -- I can't

19 give you a number. I didn't do all the data mining,

20 but we can find it out.

21 Q. Can -- can you say that it was

22 significantly less?

23 A. It -- you know, I would feel like if you're

looking at just raw numbers it would appear to be 24

25 down 50 percent. But the difference between a three



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Page 58 Page 60 MR. GENECIN: Thank you. THE WITNESS: Yeah. 1 2 MS. CUBRIEL: This is counsel for Bexar 2 MR. GENECIN: Are we going to mark this? 3 County. I just want to say, at her last deposition, 3 MR. BRYANT: Yes, we will. I'm just trying she brought an earlier version of the form -to figure out what number I have not yet used. 4 5 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh. Yes. 5 (Exhibit 13 was marked.) MS. CUBRIEL: -- that was an exhibit. And 6 Q. BY MR. BRYANT: All right. Miss Miss 6 so, our intent, and why I had her pull it out is, we 7 Callanen I'm handing you what's been marked as JC3, do wish to make this an exhibit because this is the Exhibit 13. Could you describe what that is. 8 updated version. A. Yes, sir. This is the insert that we used 9 10 MR. BRYANT: Okay. 10 for the November 2022 mail ballots. 11 THE WITNESS: It worked better. 11 Q. Okay. And the -- the earlier exhibit that 12 MS. CUBRIEL: Yeah. I showed you which is marked JC3, Exhibit 9, and also 12 13 Exhibit C to your earlier deposition, when was that 13 MR. BRYANT: Right. 14 MS. CUBRIEL: And can you pass those extra 14 one in use? 15 ones down. 15 A. The black and white one came into use for 16 MR. BRYANT: I will do that. 16 the May elections, the city and school elections. 17 17 Then the colored one came into use where it says the (Exhibit 9 was marked.) 18 Q. BY MR. BRYANT: Miss Callanen, let me show 18 teal, that was for the primary runoff, which was also 19 you what was marked Exhibit C at an earlier 19 at the end of May. So May --20 deposition that you gave in this case, and I've 20 Q. May of 2022? 21 marked it as JC3, Exhibit 9. 21 A. -- of '22. Yes, sir. We had the primary 22 A. Uh-huh. 22 in March, and then we had the city and school 23 Q. Can you describe what that is. 23 elections the first Saturday, and then we had the 24 A. This is an earlier version of -- of what we primary runoff at the end of May. And so then in the 25 have there. And again, black and white. And you can 25 next couple of months, then we went back and did Page 59 1 see, if you want to just -- to make the difference on 1 another deep dive on it and we think this is simpler. 2 it, when we did it this time, we wrote on here. It We -- we changed it a little bit. 3 says, "Under the flap on your teal envelope." But we Q. And when you say, "this," you're referring 4 took "teal" off. We didn't -- people want to mess 4 to JC3, Exhibit 13? 5 with what the color was. 5 A. Yes, sir. Q. Okay. 6 So the new ones just say, "Under the flap." 6 7 So, again, we just -- again, in our office, we use it 7 A. I'm sorry. 8 for not -- we were, like -- can I -- dare I say, we 8 Q. It's just -- it's often a written --9 were dumbing it down. We wanted to make it as simple 9 written process, so we got to refer to exhibits. Did 10 you observe in -- in Bexar County, in connection with 10 as possible, so we took out extra -- I think, she 11 wants to see it. 11 the November 2022 general election, changes in the 12 MS. PAIKOWSKY: Would you mind if I see it? 12 level of voter understanding of the mail-in voting 13 MR. BRYANT: Absolutely. 13 process?

14 MS. PAIKOWSKY: Thanks so much.

15 Q. BY MR. BRYANT: And the -- Miss Miss

Callanen are all -- you -- you handed me three --

17 A. Here's another one.

18 Q. -- examples. Are those all the same?

19 A. Yes, sir.

20 Q. Okay.

21 A. That's all I brought.

22 MS. PAIKOWSKY: And if it's helpful, I

23 actually have a color version of the previous

24 exhibit.

25

MR. BRYANT: That's great. Okay.

14

A. Absolutely.

Q. Could you describe what you observed in 15

16 that regard.

17 A. Again, anecdotally, if you want to say,

18 number one, you know, the reject rate proves that --

19 that we did see that.

20 But number two, in the course of the

21 election, we noticed that we were having a lessening

22 of the phone calls where they were asking for

23 assistance. You know, that -- but again, we were

24 doing major media. We were doing handouts

25 everywhere. We had handouts out at the early voting



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1 sites. We -- we were -- we just sort of threw

- 2 everything at it that we could because it was just so
- 3 important.
- 4 Q. Okay. You were describing some media
- 5 outreach and voter education efforts that occurred in
- 6 connection with the November 2022 general election;
- 7 is that right?
- 8 A. Yes, sir.
- 9 Q. Were those efforts that were made
- 10 specifically in and by Bexar County or were they a
- 11 broader effort, or both?
- 12 A. We, the election's office, had our own
- 13 outreach. But again, members of my commissioner's
- 14 court entered into it and they did their own outreach
- 15 for it also, separate and apart from the elections
- 16 office.
- 17 Q. Okay. Could you describe as -- as much as
- 18 you recall, the media outreach that was done to
- 19 educate voters about mail-in balloting in connection
- 20 with the November 2022 general election process in
- 21 Bexar County.
- 22 A. Sure. I mean, we -- we did press
- 23 conferences twice a week. We did, again, outreach
- 24 everywhere we went, every -- every presentation we
- 25 put on, every meeting we went to. We worked with the

- 1 time for a break?
  - 2 MR. BRYANT: Certainly. Let's take a
  - 3 break.

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- 4 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Time is 10:21.
- 5 Correction, 10:28 a.m. and we are off the record.
  - (A brief recess was taken.)
  - THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Time is 10:38 a.m. and
- 8 we are on the record.
- 9 Q. BY MR. BRYANT: Miss Callanen, you were
- 10 testifying before the break about outreach and voter
- 1 education efforts that were made in connection with
- 12 the November 2022 general election. And it sounded
- 13 to me as if those were fairly extensive and ramped up
- 14 from previous elections; is that correct?
- 15 A. Yes, sir. Yes, sir.
  - Q. Do you anticipate looking forward that
- 17 it'll be necessary to continue to increase and
- 18 increase the level of effort and expense that Bexar
- 19 County does on -- on voter education and outreach?
- 20 Or do you believe that over time the need to do that
- 21 will level off or decline as people understand better
- 22 the -- the procedures?
  - MS. PAIKOWSKY: Objection; form.
- 24 THE WITNESS: I -- I understand your
- 25 question. I -- again, this is an odd number year, so

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- 1 AARP. We worked with Oasis. We -- we did outreach
- 2 with the organizations that -- that go to the senior
- 3 citizens to -- to try and -- we worked very heavily
- 4 with the disability community. In fact, we're still
- 5 working with the disability community at this time.
- 6 So, we -- we -- we just tried to do as much as we 7 could.
- 8 Q. And during what period of time were those
- 9 efforts undertaken with respect to the November 2022
- 10 general election process?
- 11 A. They started the middle of September
- 12 through Novem- -- November. Because, again, the
- 13 middle of September is basically, again, for us is
- 14 when that's the go button, because we all have to
- 15 abide by the MOVE Act, which is the federal military
- 16 MOVE Act, and that's always 45 days before an
- 47 1 1 1 0
- 17 election. So, once our ballots go out, it's --
- 18 somebody's hit the go button.
- Q. Did Bexar County comply with that 45-dayrequirement in connection with the general
- 21 election --
- 22 A. Absolutely.
- 23 Q. -- in 2022?
- 24 A. Absolutely.
- 25 MR. GENECIN: David, would this be a good

- 1 we will have so many less people. And I think we
- 2 will have to duplicate our media outreach for 2024.
- 3 Because, again, you keep hearing me say we had 40,000
- 4 now and 124,000. So that, to me, is there's another
- 5 80,000 that have not used the new method.
- 6 So, we're going to stay attuned to that and
- 7 stay focused on that. So, I expect that when we get
- 8 to the 2024 we'll duplicate what we've done.
- 9 Q. BY MR. BRYANT: Okay. Do you have any
- 10 expectations on that subject beyond 2024?
  - A. No, sir.
- 12 Q. Okay. You testified earlier about efforts
- 13 that your office makes to contact people whose
- 14 mail-in ballots have initially been rejected. And I
- 15 believe you indicated that sometimes that's by
- 16 e-mail, sometimes that's by phone.
- 17 Could you describe the extent and
- 18 regularity of those efforts that were undertaken in
- connection with the November 2022 general election.
  A. Yes, sir. Well, in SB-1 it opened up the
- 21 door for us to be able to have outreach so that they
- 22 could cure their -- their ballots, that's the phrase
- 23 we use, they could cure their ballots. And they
- 24 opened up the avenue of the phone and by e-mail as
- 25 opposed to sending them the hard copy reject and



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Q. BY MS. PAIKOWSKY: Why do you think your

2 county's rejection rate was lower than the statewide

3 rate?

4 A. Because I'm proud of our insert and the 5 work we did.

Q. Do you think that other counties have the 6 same level of resources and expertise as Bexar County

to implement the kinds of interventions you

discussed? 9

11

10 MS. CUBRIEL: Objection; form.

THE WITNESS: I had made reference to that

12 before that, you know, prior to 2020, I would have

13 answered, yes. But since we've had such a turnover

14 in election leadership, I -- I think it's really hard

15 for a new person to get all the nuances and

16 understand how you have to touch your voters.

17 Q. BY MS. PAIKOWSKY: Do economic resources

18 factor into county's ability to implement the kinds

19 of solutions you did in Bexar County in November of

20 2022?

1

21 A. I would say absolutely.

22 Q. So, earlier, you mentioned that the

23 November 2022 general election ran more smoothly than

24 the November 2020 election. Can you describe more

25 about why that was.

Q. Do you believe that the November 2022 1 general election was smoother than the 2018 general

3 election?

4 A. No. They were the same.

5 Q. Okay. As compared to the 2018 general

election, was mail voting more difficult in the 2022 6

7 general election? And I'm referring to both

8 processing mail ballots and voter education.

9 A. Yes.

11

23

3

5

8

10

11

10 Q. Why is that?

A. With the ID requirement. The new -- you

know, the new -- relatively new ID requirement that 12

13 we didn't have in prior elections.

14 Q. Was there any information that would have

15 been useful to administering mail voting in the

general election that was not captured in the TEAM 16 17 database?

18 A. No. My initial reaction would be, no. But

19 in hindsight, during this back and forth -- I mean,

20 if -- if you were looking for multiples, you know,

maybe we would open up that for multiples. But as an

22 administrator doing the election at the time, no.

Q. Does your county keep any data on ABBM

24 rejections that is not reflected in TEAM?

25 A. No.

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A. Again, just sheer numbers. It -- it -- it

2 basically was just a numbers thing. Because as we

3 talked about mainly, you know, the mail ballots, when

4 you're dealing with 124,000 going out and 92,000

5 coming back, our office, because we do, we handle

6 everything in house, every single piece of it is

7 handled in house, in 2020 my office, we were -- we

8 were working two shifts. We didn't have to do that

9 in 2022.

15

19

10 In 2020, we were, I think, since you had

11 asked, we did, like, 1,200 voters that we had --

12 workers that we had to put out there. Well, in

13 2022 -- or 2020, because we expected more voters, we

14 had more workers. And so we were, like, at 1,800.

And so, that's what I'm speaking to, the

16 more complexities, it's -- takes longer to get 1,800

17 people than it does to get 1,200. It takes longer to

18 do 124 applications than it does to do 40.

Q. And in the differences between the

20 November '22 general election and the November '20

21 general election, would you say that COVID-19 also

22 impacted the smoothness of one election as compared

23 to the other?

24 A. No, because we had that figured out prior

25 to that November.

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Q. Does your county keep any data on carrier 1 envelope rejections that is not reflected in TEAM? 2

A. No.

4 Q. I think that is all my questions.

MS. PAIKOWSKY: I would like to go off the

record if that's okay for just maybe five minutes and

7 we can chat and then come back on.

THE VIDEOGRAPHER: The time is 1:27 p.m.

9 and we are off the record.

(A brief recess was taken.)

THE VIDEOGRAPHER: The time is 1:33 p.m.

12 and we are on the record.

MS. PAIKOWSKY: And I am going to pass the 13

14 witness at this time.

MR. GENECIN: Thank you.

15 16 17

19

20

23

### **EXAMINATION**

18 BY MR. GENECIN:

Q. Good afternoon, Miss Callanen.

A. Good afternoon, sir.

21 Q. My name is Victor Genecin.

22 A. Victor. I said, "Dennis." I'm sorry.

Q. And I've got a few questions for you. Just

a little while ago, when you were answering 24

25 Ms. Paikowsky's questions, you cited the number



# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

### **APPENDIX I**

Jennifer Colvin March 21, 2023

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1
                IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                       WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
 2
                         SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
 3
     LA UNION DEL PUEBLO
                                  S
 4
     ENTERO, et al.,
           Plaintiffs,
                                  §
 5
                                  S
                                      Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
                                  S
     v.
 6
                                  S
     GREGORY W. ABBOTT, et
                                  S
 7
     al.,
           Defendants,
 8
                                  S
                                  S
 9
     OCA-GREATER HOUSTON, et
10
     al.,
           Plaintiffs,
                                  §
11
                                  S
                                     Case No. 1:21-cv-780-XR
                                  S
     v.
12
                                  S
     JANE NELSON, et. al.,
                                  S
13
           Defendants,
                                  S
                                  S
14
                                  S
15
     HOUSTON JUSTICE, et
     al.,
                                  S
           Plaintiffs,
16
                                  §
                                  S
17
                                     Case No. 5:21-cv-848-XR
     v.
                                  S
     GREGORY WAYNE ABBOTT,
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                                  S
     et al.,
                                  S
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          Defendants,
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     LULAC Texas, et al.,
                                  S
           Plaintiffs,
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22
                                  S
                                     Case No. 1:21-cv-0786-XR
                                  8
     v.
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                                  S
     JANE NELSON, et al.,
                                  S
           Defendants,
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                                  §
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Jennifer Colvin

March 21, 2023

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2	al., § Plaintiffs, §		LISA CUBRIEL, BEXAR COUNTY (Via Zoom)	
	Plaintiffs, § §	2	LUCIA ROMANO (Via Zoom)	
3	v. § Case No. 5:21-cv-0920-XR	3	MIKE STEWART, DOJ (Via Zoom) URUJ SHEIKH, LDF (Via Zoom)	
	§	3		
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9	ORAL AND VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF	10		
10	JENNIFER COLVIN	11		
11	MARCH 21, 2023	12		
12		1.3		
13		14		
14	ODAL AND UTDEOTABED DEDOCTETON OF TENRITED COVICES	15		
15 16	ORAL AND VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF JENNIFER COLVIN, produced as a witness at the instance of the Defendants	16		
17	and duly sworn, was taken in the above styled and	17		
18	numbered cause on Tuesday, March 21, 2023, from	18		
19	12:20 p.m. to 3:43 p.m., before DONNA QUALLS, Notary	19		
20	Public in and for the State of Texas, reported by	20		
21	computerized stenotype machine, at the offices of Harris	21		
22	County Attorney's Office, 1019 Congress Street, 15th	22		
23	Floor, Houston, Texas, pursuant to the Federal Rules of	23		
24	Civil Procedure, and any provisions stated on the record $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( $	24		
25	or attached hereto.	25		
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2 Q. And you also occupied this position for the May

- 3 local election and primary runoff that were both held in
- 4 May?
- 5 A. Correct.

A. Yes.

- Q. And then you also occupied this position for 6
- the 2022 general election; is that right?
- A. Correct.
- 9 Q. And approximately how many full-time employees
- 10 work under your supervision?
- 11 A. Sixteen.
- 12 Q. And do you know how many full-time employees
- 13 work for the Harris County Elections Administrator's
- 14 Office generally?
- 15 A. I don't have that number.
- 16 Q. And did you increase the number from 16 in the
- 17 lead-up for the November 2022 election?
- 18 A. Full-time employees, no.
- 19 Q. Did you hire temporary employees?
- 20 A. We did.
- 21 Q. And is that common practice in your office?
- 22 A. It is for every election.
- 23 Q. And how many did you add?
- 24 A. For the November?
- 25 Q. That's correct.

1 this particular report?

- A. I provided some information for this report. 2
- Q. And what information would that have been? 3
- 4 A. Any numbers -- anything pertaining to ballot by 5 mail.
- 6 Q. So let's turn to page 15. And do you see where
- it has "Subsection 4, Early Voting Operations"?
- A. I do. 8

9

16

- Q. And the first sentence reads: "Early Voting
- 10 operations include ballot by mail and in-person voting
- 11 at EVCs."
- 12 Did I read that correctly?
- 13 A. Correct.
- 14 Q. And then let's go to the next subsection which
- 15 is "Subsection A, Ballot By Mail."
  - Do you see that?
- 17 A. I do.
- Q. Okay. And so my first question is going to be 18
- 19 quite general. Did you implement any changes in your
- 20 voting-by-mail procedures between the May elections and
- the November 2022 general election? 21
- 22 A. The only change would be the form that we
- 23 mailed out with our ballots.
- 24 Q. Okay. And I will address that in a little bit.
- 25 A. Okay.

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- Q. And you're referring to the ballot insert; is 1
  - 2 that right?
  - A. Yes. 3
  - 4 Q. So the first sentence reads: "All mail ballots
  - returned by voters were delivered to the NRG Arena and
  - reviewed and processed by the Signature Verification
  - Committee." 7

8

Did I read that correctly?

- 9 A. You did.
- 10 Q. And just for clarification, can you please tell
- 11 me what is a signature verification committee?
- 12 A. It's a group of both political parties.
- 13 They're appointed by their -- the parties, and they come
- 14 in to review -- it'll -- for instance, it's five Dems,
- 15 five Reps. You have a judge, a presiding judge and an
- 16 alternate judge, one of each party. And then they come
- 17 in and review the ballots to make sure the ID and
- 18 signature match.
- 19 Q. And so I just want to understand the procedure.
- 20 So when a ballot by mail is delivered to the early
- 21 voting clerk, what happens to that particular ballot?
- 22 Like how is it processed?
- 23 A. We receive the ballot in, and we image it.
- 24 We -- once we image it, it goes to -- it gets put in a
- 25 tub for the board. It's sealed, and we log it. Once

- A. In total, approximately 100.
- 2 Q. And is that about expected for a general 3 election?

1

- 4 A. It depends on the number of applications we 5 receive, but, yes.
- Q. And so let's start with Topic No. 4. Topic 4 6
- 7 reads: "Your policies, practices, and procedures 8 regarding mail-in voting during the November 8, 2022,
- general election.
- 10
  - Did I read that correctly?
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. And to do that, I want you to turn your
- 13 attention to Exhibit 4. This is -- should be in your
- 14 pile.
- 15 A. Exhibit 4?
- 16 Q. Uh-huh.
- 17 A. Okay.
- Q. Do you have the exhibit in front of you? 18
- 19
- 20 Q. And do you recognize this exhibit? 21 A. I do.
- 22 Q. And what is it?
- 23 A. It's the Harris County Administrator's report
- 24 on the election.
- 25 Q. Did you participate at all in the drafting of



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1 the board sends members, we start -- they send in a

- 2 couple of members to help our team -- they designate our
- 3 team to pull the flaps to check for IDs. Once we start
- 4 doing that, we process any that don't have IDs -- we
- 5 mail back to the voters to get them a chance to cure
- 6 that ballot. Any -- all the rest of them are put back
- 7 in the tubs, and we hold them until the SVC convenes.
- 8 Q. Okay. And so you mentioned that in your county
- 9 the early voting clerk removes the flap to determine
- 10 whether or not the numbers were added: is that correct?
- 11 A. Correct. Well, us and some of the board
- 12 members. It's a group effort depending on the quantity.
- 13 Q. And this is to determine whether or not the
- 14 voter put down their either their social security or
- 15 Texas ID number?
- 16 A. Correct.
- 17 Q. And how do you contact the voter if you
- 18 determine that the voter did not put down an ID number?
- 19 A. There's multiple ways you can contact them. We
- 20 normally give a phone call, and we send a letter. If
- 21 it's before the ballot board meets, the EVBB convenes,
- 22 we mail them the ballot back.
- 23 Q. Okay. And so are you doing this before this --
- 24 when I say "doing this," I mean removing the flap before
- 25 the signature verification committee meets?

- 1 A. We call on their behalf.
  - Q. And according to this report, the signature
- 3 verification committee convened on October 9th; is that
- 4 correct?
  - A. Yes.
    - MS. BINGHAM: Object to form. It was the

Page 20

- 7 19th.
- THE REPORTER: Can you speak up?
- 9 MS. BINGHAM: Tiffany Bingham.
- 10 A. It was October 19th.
- 11 Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) Okay. And do they meet each 12 day after that?
  - A. Depending on volume. It's not a set schedule.
  - Q. And you were -- your office was removing the
- 15 flap. Did you notice that less voters as compared to
- 16 the primary and the May elections were not at --
- 17 including their ID number or social security number?
  - MS. HOLMES: Objection to form.
  - MS. BINGHAM: Objection to form.
- 20 MS. HUNKER: You can answer the question.
  - A. There were less voters that left off the ID.
- 22 Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) And the signature verification
- 23 committee, do they also review the ballot to determine
- 24 whether or not there is a signature match?
- 25 A. They do.

Page 19

- A. Yes.
- Q. And so you can contact the voter before the3 signature verification committee meets; is that correct?
- 4 A. Correct.

1

- 5 Q. And the signature verification committee, they
- 6 then -- how do they then handle the ballot?
- 7 A. The one without the ID or the ones with the ID?
- 8 Q. The ones -- first without the ID. We'll start 9 there.
- A. They designate us to send the ballot back tothe voter on their behalf.
- 12 Q. Okay. And the ones with ID?
- 13 A. The ones with ID, they go through the process
- 14 to compare the numbers to the -- statements in the
- 15 system to make sure that the two match, and then they
- 16 can okay the ballot.
- 17 Q. And do they, too, call the voter?
- 18 A. Go ahead.
- 19 Q. Do they, too, call the voter if they notice
- 20 that they're -- let me strike that.
- 21 How does the Signature verification
- 22 committee contact the voter?
  - A. They delegated that to our office.
- 24 Q. And is that when your office would also call
- 25 or --

- Page 21

  Q. And are they contacted -- the individual voters
- 2 who, let's say, either failed to put their signature or
- 3 had a mismatch, are they contacted the same way?
- 4 A. They are.
- 5 Q. And then what happens when a -- the signature
- 6 verification committee processes the ballot, and then it
- 7 goes to the early voting ballot board?
  - A. The signature verification committee can okay
- 9 the ballot. If they have a questionable ballot, that's
- 10 when it -- that goes over to the ballot board.
- 11 Q. So if a ballot is accepted by the signature
- 12 verification committee, it is accepted?
  - A. Yes.
- 14 Q. And it only the questionable ballots that move
- 15 to the early voting ballot board; is that correct?
- 16 A. Correct.
- 17 Q. Does the early voting ballot board then have
- 18 any role with respect to matching ID numbers?
- 19 A. They do.
- 20 Q. What is that role?
- 21 A. They take -- they assume the same process as
- 22 the SVC.
- 23 Q. And how do you contact the voter once the early
- 24 voting ballot board meets?
- 25 A. We keep the ballot in our possession and notify



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Page 30 1 returned -- those are ballots that were just not

2 returned by the voter, correct?

A. Right. They had no return status in our

4 system.

5 Q. What about mail ballots surrendered?

6 A. Those are voters that surrendered their ballots

at the poll if they wanted to vote early on Election

8 Day.

9 Q. And for a voter who did not include their ID

10 number or had a mismatched ID number, were they then

11 able to return their ballot and vote in person if they

12 had time?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And so the mail ballot surrendered, does that

15 include those individuals?

16 A. It could possibly.

17 Q. Okay. And then mail ballots not countable,

18 what does that mean?

19 A. That would mean they either came in after the

20 election. They were late ballots. They're not

21 countable ballots.

22 Q. And so the -- with the exception of the mail

23 ballots not countable, the other numbers are all ballots

24 that would have been received before the ballot-received

25 deadline the day after the election?

Page 32 1 ID number defect by e-mail and have it resolved by

2 e-mail and returned?

3 A. Correct.

4 Q. And did you observe that, looking at the

5 rejected ballot, generally, that some ballots had

multiple defects, not just one?

7 A. Yes.

16

17

18

Q. Now, when you're reporting that defect, do you 8

put only one reason, or do you put the fact that there

10 were multiple defects?

11 A. VOTEC only allows us to put one reason. The

12 voter will get a letter for both reasons.

13 Q. So there are some voters who may be listed as

14 having one defect but their ballot in fact had

multiple -- is that correct? -- in your system? 15

MS. HOLMES: Objection to form.

MS. HUNKER: You can answer the question.

A. Correct. Well, let me -- let me elaborate.

19 Both of the letters will be in the system. So if a

20 voter were to call us, we can see both letters that were

21 sent. So we can tell them, yes, there was more than one

22 defect. But as far as reporting to the State, you can

23 only send one code.

24 Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) And so your reports to the

25 State only reflect one defect, not the -- not if there

Page 31

A. Yes. 1

Q. Thank you. And let's go back to page 16. And

3 so it says "The EOA processed over 80,000 mail ballot

applications as reflected in the table below." 5

Did I read that correctly?

A. Yes. 6

7 Q. Okay.

8 A. EAO.

9 Q. EAO.

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. Thank you. And so we have domestic versus

12 UOCAVA voters, correct?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. When a military or overseas voter did not

15 include an ID or had -- let's say had a defect in their

16 ballot, how would you go about contacting that military

17 voter?

18

21

A. Via e-mail or phone.

19 Q. And a military voter has the option of

20 resubmitting their signature sheet; is that correct?

A. Correct.

22 Q. And can they resubmit -- resubmit that

23 signature sheet via e-mail?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. And so you can contact a military voter about a 1 were multiple defects?

2 A. Correct.

Q. And looking specifically at the UOCAVA voters

Page 33

4 who had their ballots rejected, did you look at the

reasons why those ballots were rejected?

A. Not each one individually, no. 6

7 Q. Were they rejected for a variety of reasons?

8 A. Yes.

Q. And so I just want to talk a little bit about a 9

10 little later on page where it says "Mail ballot problems

encountered," second paragraph specifically. It says:

"During the mail ballot period, the EAO received reports

13 that voters were not receiving" bal- -- "mail ballots

14 and that voters were being charged extra postage because

15 of the size of the carrier envelope."

Did I read that correctly?

17

16

18

Q. And did your office ever determine why certain

voters were not receiving their ballots? 19

20 A. No.

21 Q. And for the voters who were not receiving their

22 ballots, the ballot was sent. It just was not received;

23 is that correct?

24 A. Correct.

Q. And so there was some issue with the postal



Jennifer Colvin March 21, 2023 Pages 98 to 101

Page 98

A. We had less. There were more rejects due to ID 2 in previous elections.

Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) Now, you had spoken a little

4 bit with counsel about the different codes for when a

5 ballot was rejected for an ID requirement. Is there a

6 separate code if there's a rejection due to lack of

7 signature?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recommend that voters put down their 9

10 phone number or e-mail when they're applying to vote by

11 mail?

8

12 A. Does our office recommend it?

13 Q. Yes.

14 A. Yes. So we can reach out to the voters if

15 there's a problem with their application.

Q. And do you find that most voters follow through 16

17 on your recommendation?

18 A. We get a lot of phone numbers and e-mails.

19 Q. You also discussed with counsel about that

20 there were occasions where the county voting system had

21 two IDs but the TEAM's database only had one.

22 Do you recall that conversation?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. When you notice that the county database has

25 two ID numbers but the TEAM's database only has one, do

Page 100 1 receiving very minimal applications right now.

2 Q. Okay. To your knowledge, has Harris County

ever had a rejection rate for ballots by mail that was 3

4

5 A. No.

6 Q. And so I want to turn to Exhibit 16 which was

7 provided by your office during this deposition.

8

9

11

Q. Yes. This is the updated...

10 A. Oh, my apologies. It's right in front of me.

Q. So looking at -- let me take a step back.

12 Are you using the same database, offline

13 database, in 2022, as you were in these previous

14 elections?

A. Yes. 15

16 Q. And how did you come to these rejection rates

17 for previous elections?

18 A. From numbers within the voter management

19 system.

20 Q. Were you required to report rejections prior to

21 2022?

23

22 A. Yes.

Q. And was that reported to the secretary of

24 state's office?

25 A. Yes.

Page 99

Page 101 Q. And so in previous elections, Texas utilized 1

> 2 signature verification, correct?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And do you know if the signature verification

5 committee utilized the same standard election from

election? 6

8

7 MS. HOLMES: Objection to form.

A. Yes.

Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) And did they utilize the same 9

10 standard election to election?

11 MS. HOLMES: Objection to form.

12 A. Repeat that.

Q. (BY MS. HUNKER) So my first question was did 13

14 you know if they did, and then I realized that was maybe

15 not clear. And so I just wanted to clarify, did they

16 use the same standard for signature verification

17 election from election?

18 A. Prior to SB1, they didn't have to compare IDs.

19 But after SB1, they had to compare IDs. That's the

20 difference in their processes.

Q. So I think I maybe, then, asked a confusing 21

22 question. So I'm talking about the signature

23 verification, not ID --

24 A. Only their signature verification?

Q. Only their signature verification. So there

1 you inform the secretary of state's office to update the 2 TEAM's database?

3 A. No.

Q. And do you know if there's -- if there's a

5 policy or procedure that perhaps your tech division has

6 with respect to updating?

7 A. I don't know.

Q. Okay. If the county database only has one

9 number but the TEAM's database has two numbers and the

10 number the voter put is the one that was in the TEAM's

11 database but not the one in the county's database, you

12 would accept that ballot; is that correct?

13 A. Correct.

14 Q. There's an option for voters with disabilities

15 as well as voters over 65 to submit an application for

16 ballot by mail for the entire year, correct?

17 A. Correct. Annual.

18 Q. And you've already started receiving annual

19 applications for the 2023?

A. That's correct.

Q. And did you notice fewer rejections for the

22 applications that were submitted this year due to the ID

23 mismatch or lack of ID as compared to previous elections

24 in 2022?

20

21

25 A. I haven't analyzed that data, but we're



# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

APPENDIX J

Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023

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1
         IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
         FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
             SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
2
3
   LA UNION DEL PUEBLO
   ENTERO, ET AL.,
4
        Plaintiffs,
5
   VS.
                     ) CIVIL ACTION NO.
                    5:21-CV-844 (XR)
6
   STATE OF TEXÁS. ET AL..
       Defendants.
7
8
9
             ORAL DEPOSITION OF
10
             JACQUELINE DOYER
11
              MARCH 29, 2023
12
13
14
15
16
17
            ORAL DEPOSITION OF JACQUELINE DOYER,
18
   produced as a witness at the instance of the Defendants,
19
   and duly sworn, was taken in the above-styled and
20
   humbered cause on the 29th day of March, 2023, from
21
   3:14 p.m. to 4:03 p.m., before JAZZMEN CANALES, CSR, in
22
   and for the State of Texas, reported by machine
23
   shorthand at 209 West 14th Street, Austin, Texas 78701,
   bursuant to the Texas Rules of Civil Procedure and the
24
25
   provisions stated on the record or attached hereto.
```



Jacqueline Doyer

March 29, 2023

Pages 2 to 5

Page 2	Page 4
1 APPEARANCES	1 THE COURT REPORTER: At this time, the
2 FOR THE PLAINTIFFS: 3 MS. NINA PERALES	2 deposition of Jacqueline Hagan Doyer is being taken in
MALDEF 4 110 Broadway, Suite 300	3 the United States District Court For the Western
San Antonio Texas 78205	4 District of Texas, San Antonio Division, Civil Action
4 110 Broadway, Suite 300 San Antonio, Texas 78205 5 210-224-5476	
E-mail: nperales@maldef.org	5 No. 5:21-cv-844 (XR), styled La Unión Del Pueblo Entero,
6 FOR THE HOUSTON AREA HIRDANII FACHE BLAINTIFFE	6 et al. vs. State of Texas, et al. This deposition is
FOR THE HOUSTON AREA URBAN LEAGUE PLAINTIFFS: 7	7 being taken at The Price Daniel Sr. State Office
MR VICTOR GENECIN (Via Videoconference)	
MR. VICTOR GENECIN (Via Videoconference)  8 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. 40 Rector Street, 5th Floor	8 Building, 209 West 14th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.
40 Rector Street, 5th Floor	9 The court reporter is Jazzmen Canales. May counsel
9 New York, New York 10006 929-388-9246	
929-388-9246	10 please state your appearances,
10 E-mail: vgenecin@naacpldf.org 11 FOR THE DEFENDANTS:	11 MR. STEWART: Michael Stewart for the
11 FOR THE DEFENDANTS. 12 MS. KATHLEEN HUNKER	12 United States. With me is Daniel Freeman and Richard
12 MS. KATHLEEN HUNKER MR. ETHAN SZUMANSKI	
113 MR ANAM BILLERS	13 Dellheim.
Office of the Attorney General of Texas	14 MS. PERELAS: Nina Perales of Plaintiff
14 P.O. Box 12548	
Austin, Texas 78711	15 LUPE, L-U-P-E, et al.
15 512-936-2275 E-mail: kathleen.hunker@oag.texas.gov	16 MR. STEWART: Anyone who plans to ask
16	17 questions to the Zoom?
FOR THE UNITED STATES:	•
17	18 MS. HUNKER: Kathleen Hunker with Ethan
MR. MICHAEL STEWART	19 Szumanski from the Office of the Texas Attorney General
18 MR. DANIEL FREEMAN	_
MR. RICHARD DELLHEIM  19 U.S. Department of Justice 950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW	20 representing State Defendants individual legislators.
950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW	21 With me is Adam Bitter and Zina Chala from the Office of
20 Washington, D.C. 20530	22 the Secretary of State.
202-307-2767	-
21 E-mail: michael.stewart3@usdoj.gov	23 JACQUELINE HAGAN DOYLE,
21 E-mail: michael.stewart3@usdoj.gov 22 23 24 25	24 having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:
23	25
1 4 7	1.25
125	
Page 3	Page 5
Page 3	Page 5 1 EXAMINATION
Page 3  1 INDEX 2 PAGE	Page 5  1 EXAMINATION 2 BY MR. STEWART:
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Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023 Pages 6 to 9

A. Yes, sir.

- Q. I will try my best not to talk over you, and if
- 3 you can wait until I am finished asking the question,
- 4 that will work best. If ever I cut you off, just let me
- 5 know, and we can make sure your full answer gets on the
- 6 record. Okay?
- 7 A. Yes.
- Q. So it is important to answer completely and
- 9 accurately to the best of your ability. Do you
- 10 understand that?
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. Great. If I ever ask a question that is
- 13 unclear, you can ask me for clarification. Okay?
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. Your attorney or attorney for another party may
- 16 object. That's fine. And I will give them a second
- 17 before you answer to allow them to object. But unless
- 18 you are instructed not to answer or there is a privilege
- 19 basis not to answer, you can go ahead and answer the
- 20 question regardless. Okay?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. Once the question is pending, I will just ask
- 23 that you answer that question before you consult with
- 24 your attorney or anything. Is that okay?
- 25 A. I understand.

Page 6 Q. Anyone else? 1

- 2 A. I met with Adam Bitter.
- 3 Q. And anyone else?
- 4 A. I met with Zina Chala.
- 5 Q. Is that all?
- A. I also met with the members of the FAD team. 6
- 7 Q. Okay. And those would be -- and do those
- 8 individuals report to you on the FAD team?
- A. Some of them.
- 10 Q. Some of them. And what were their roles?
- 11 A. I have auditors that report to me, and then I
- 12 also have a legal assistant that reports to me.
- 13 Q. Okay. And when we say -- when you say FAD
- 14 team, that's the Forensic Audit Division of the
- 15 Secretary of State?
- 16 A. That is correct.
- 17 Q. Great. Thank you. Did you review any
- 18 documents in the course of your preparation?
- A. I did. 19
- 20 Q. What documents were those?
- 21 A. I reviewed the audit report.
- 22 Q. Okay. Anything else?
- 23 A. I reviewed portions of the election code.
- 24 Q. Okay. And then did you bring any documents
- 25 with you here today?

Page 7

- A. I did. 1
  - Q. What did you bring with you? 2
  - A. I brought a copy of the audit report and a copy 3
  - 4 of the letter we sent to Harris County.
  - Q. Okay. Thank you. So -- and then just real
  - 6 quickly. Can you tell me what your role is in the
  - 7 Forensic Audit Division?
  - A. I am the deputy and legal director for the 8 9 division.
  - 10 Q. And how long have you been in that role?
  - 11 A. I was promoted in that role in November of
  - 12 2022.
  - Q. Okay. Thank you. Were you with the Forensic 13
  - 14 Audit Division before that?
  - A. I was. 15
  - Q. What was your role then? 16
  - 17 A. I served as the attorney to the division.
  - 18 Q. And when did you begin that?
  - 19 A. April of 2022.
  - 20 Q. Is that when you first joined the audit
  - 21 division?
  - 22 A. It is.
  - 23 Q. Okay. So I am going to mark Exhibit 23.
  - 24 (Exhibit 23 marked.)
    - Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Do you recognize this

- Q. And then if you need a break -- this should be
- 2 short -- but just let me know, and we can see about
- 3 that. If you later remember something you forgot
- 4 earlier or want to add, just let me know, we can get
- 5 that on the record. Okay?
- 6 A. Understand.
- Q. If you can think of a document that would help
- 8 refresh your recollection, we may have it. Just let me
- 9 know. Okay?
- A. It looks like. 10
- 11 Q. This is just one, I will say that. And then
- 12 just -- this is a necessary question. But have you
- 13 taken any medication, alcohol, drugs, anything that
- 14 would affect your ability to understand what I am asking
- 15 or give a complete answer today?
- 16 A. No, sir.

25

- 17 Q. Okay. And then you understand you are under
- 18 oath, subject to penalties for false or misleading
- 19 testimony, correct?
- 20 A. I understand.
- Q. Okay. Great. So how did you prepare to 21

A. I met with Kathleen Hunker.

- 22 testify for this deposition?
- 23 A. I met with my attorneys.
- 24 Q. And who would that be?



25

Page 8

Page 9

Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023
Pages 10 to 13

1 document?

2 A. I do.

3 Q. What is it?

4 A. It appears to be a copy of our final report

5 issued in December of 2022.

Q. Thank you. So what were the goals of the

7 forensic audit for which this is the final report?

8 A. I believe that's reflected in the executive 9 summary.

10 Q. Is the executive summary complete and accurate

11 as to the goals of the audit?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Who was involved in designing the audit?

14 A. I don't understand your question.

15 Q. So what individuals within the audit division

16 were involved in designing the, shall I say,

17 investigative task of the audit?

18 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

19 A. Can you specify what you mean by design?

20 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Sure. So I guess to say,

21 when you determined -- or as the Forensic Audit Division

22 was determining, sort of, what to examine and how they

23 were going to examine it, who was involved in those

24 conversations?

25 A. I was involved in those conversations.

Page 10 | 1 Q. Were there other types of records you are

2 referring to there?

3 A. Not that I am aware of.

4 Q. Were those records the counties required to

Page 12

5 maintain or additional materials as well?

6 A. I want to correct something.

7 Q. Sure.

8 A. We did get some records from Tarrant County for

9 2022. They submitted those in error.

10 Q. Okay. But then going back to the previous

11 question, were those all records the counties were

12 required to maintain, or were there additional materials

13 they had that were also provided to you?

14 A. They were records they were required to

15 maintain, for the most part, or things that they kept as

16 a regular practice.

17 Q. Got it. Were there any -- besides your review

18 of the records provided by the counties, were there any

19 specific issues with the 2020 general election that were

20 identified as a reason for the audit?

MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

A. Can you maybe specify what you mean by that?

Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Yeah. Was there some sort of

24 imminence for the audit, either an error or mistake you

25 noticed or something that you thought merit an

Page 11

21

23

Q. Who else?

2 A. Our director.

3 Q. Anyone else?

4 A. Auditors.

1

Q. Anyone outside the division involved in those

6 conversations?

7 A. The secretary.

Q. The secretary. Anyone outside the Secretary of

9 State's office involved in those conversations?

10 A. No.

11 Q. Okay. How were the topics for the audit

12 chosen?

13 A. They were data driven.

14 Q. And by data driven, what does that mean?

15 A. Based on the records that were provided, we

16 evaluated what areas had auditable points.

17 Q. And by the records you provided, provided by

18 whom?

19 A. Provided by the counties to -- directly to the

20 Forensic Audit Division or provided by the counties to

21 the elections division and then passed on to our

22 division.

23 Q. Were those records from the 2022 general

24 election?

25 A. Yes, they were.

Page 13 1 investigation that was a reason for the audit?

2 A. The reason for the audit is reflected in the

3 executive summary.

4 Q. Okay.

5 A. To ensure that all Texas voters can have

6 confidence in the election systems in our state.

7 Q. Was there a feeling that Texas voters did not

8 have confidence?

9 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

10 A. I am not aware of the feelings that were

11 present. I am just here to testify about what's in the 12 report.

13 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Fair. The question I am

14 trying to ask is, was that statement included in the

15 audit report based on an understanding in the Secretary

16 of State's office that voters did not have confidence in

17 the 2020 general election?

18 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

19 A. This -- the audit was to ensure that Texas

20 voters can have confidence in the election systems in

21 our state.

22 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Well, did the Secretary of

23 State's office and the Forensic Audit Division have any

24 specific information that voters did not have

25 confidence?



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Pages 14 to 17

Page 14

- 1 A. I don't believe the agency has an official 2 position on that.
- 3 Q. Okay. Were there any information requests sent 4 to counties that were not reflected in the final report?
- 5 A. When you say information requests, what do you 6 mean?
- 7 Q. So let me back up then. You -- you mentioned 8 that the audit was based on data and records sent to the 9 audit division by the counties, correct?
- 10 A. Sent to our division by the counties or sent to 11 the election division and then provided to us.
- 12 Q. Okay. So I will broadly refer to the Secretary
- 13 of State's office, to be clear, because those are both
- 14 under the Secretary of State, right?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. Okay. Was that all items that were reported by
- 17 the counties in due course, or were there items
- 18 specifically requested by the Secretary of State's
- 19 office for the purpose of the audit?
- A. Some of the items reviewed were provided in due course. Some of the items reviewed were provided in
- 22 response to the request.
- 23 Q. Okay. And were there any specifically
- 24 requested items by the Secretary of State's office that
- 25 aren't reflected -- that their requests are not

1 A. No. The audit division's conclusions are

Page 16

- 2 reflected in the report.
- 3 Q. Okay. Which entities were being evaluated in 4 the audit report?
- 5 A. When you say entities, do you mean counties?
- 6 Q. Yes.
- 7 A. The counties were Collin County, Dallas County,
- 8 Harris County, and Tarrant County.
  - Q. Was any state governmental entity, other than
- 10 those four counties, evaluated by the report?
  - 1 A. What do you mean by state governmental entity?
- 12 Q. Sure. Whether it is at the state level, county
- 13 level, municipal level. So taking state agencies, like
- 14 the AOG's office or the SOS, other counties, or, you15 know, subdivision of counties, municipalities. Was
- 16 anything other than those four counties you've
- 17 'day''' all a all a tall a the and it was all
- 17 identified evaluated by the audit report?
  - MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 19 A. I still don't understand the question.
- 20 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Sure. Are there any
- 21 conclusions about the performance of the Secretary of
- 22 State's office in the 2020 general election in this
- 23 audit report?
- A. We did not evaluate the Secretary of State's
- 25 office.

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Page 15

- 1 reflected somewhere in the body of this report?
- 2 A. I am not sure what you mean by that.
- Q. I guess I am saying, was -- was each
- 4 information request you made, like a cataloging of it,
- 5 reflected somewhere in this report?
- A. Information requests are not cataloged in the report.
- 8 Q. So there are -- are there information you
- 9 received from counties that didn't lead into the final 10 audit report?
- 11 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 12 A. We received 369 gigabytes of data, and this is 13 a 359-page report.
- 14 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Fair.
- 15 A. Not everything is included in the report.
- 16 Q. Let's talk about more categorically. So were
- 17 there sort of areas -- you know, there's a list of
- 18 topics here. So sort of topically, was there anything
- 19 investigated that did not -- or audited, I should say,
- 20 that did not end up in the final report?
- 21 A. When you say audited that did not end up in the
- 22 final report, what do you mean by that?
- 23 Q. Let me rephrase it this way. Were there any
- 24 conclusions the audit division came to that were not
- 25 included in the final record?

- Page 17 Q. Did you evaluate the Attorney General's office?
- 2 A. We did not evaluate the Attorney General's 3 office.
- 4 Q. Did you evaluate any counties other than the 5 four counties identified in the report?
- 6 A. In the report, we only identified the four
- 7 counties, Collin, Dallas, Harris, and Tarrant County.
- 8 Q. And those were the only counties evaluated by 9 the report?
- 10 A. That's correct.
- 11 Q. Okay. Was the performance of early voting
- 12 ballot boards in those counties evaluated?
  - MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
  - A. What do you mean by performance?
- 15 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Well, let me rephrase it.
- 16 Were aspects of the activities of the early voting
- 17 ballot boards in those counties evaluated?
  - MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
  - A. What do you mean by evaluated?
- 20 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Sure. Audited. Did you
- 21 audit any aspect of, you know, how early voting ballot
- 22 boards performed their duties?
  - MS. HUNKER: Same objection.
- 24 A. When you say audit, can you be more specific?
- 25 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Yeah. All the activities



Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023 Pages 18 to 21

Page 18 1 conducted in order to prepare this final report.

- 2 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 3 A. I still don't understand the question.
- Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Sure. Did you send any
- 5 information requests specifically regarding early voting
- 6 ballot boards?
- 7 A. We did send those type of requests.
- Q. And did you come to any conclusions about the 9 performance of early voting ballot boards?
- A. We did not evaluate the performance of early 11 voting ballot boards.
- 12 Q. Did you evaluate the performance of any
- 13 signature verification committees?
- 14 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 15 A. What do you mean by performance?
- 16 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) I guess I put that back to
- 17 you. When you say you did not evaluate the performance
- 18 of early voting ballot boards, what did you mean by
- 19 that?
- 20 A. We didn't evaluate how they did things.
- 21 Q. Okav.
- 22 A. We evaluated the processes and procedures that
- 23 each county used.
- Q. And by evaluated, were you saying whether they
- 25 were good or bad, or what do you mean by evaluated in

Page 20 1 in place for tracking some rejected ABBMs. This refers

- 2 to the pre-Senate Bill 1 system, correct?
- 3 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 4 A. The law contained in the code -- for the law
- 5 contained in the report that we were evaluating the
- 6 counties on was pre-SB1.
- 7 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Okay.
- 8 A. That existed in 2020.
- 9 Q. So that's generally applicable to the audit,
- 10 right, that this all from before SB1?
- 11 A. That's correct.
- 12 Q. Okay. Did you make any conclusions in the
- 13 audit report about how the processes or procedures
- 14 evaluated would comply with SB1?
- 15 A. We did not.
- 16 Q. Okay. So in the next paragraph, it says, one
- 17 of the limitations with counties that are not online
- 18 with the TEAM database is the fact that the counties
- 19 must provide uploads to update the data that populates
- 20 TEAM. And then it says, there could be delays between
- 21 the counties reporting and upload to the database,
- 22 attributable to the action of the counties, actions of
- 23 the counties, or their offline vendors. This can
- 24 negatively affect the accuracy of the records contained

Page 21

25 in TEAM. Did I read that correctly?

Page 19

1 this context?

- A. We asked questions, and then we reported on the 3 procedures.
- Q. Okay. And so using that same definition of
- 5 performance you've used for the early voting ballot
- 6 boards, did you evaluate the performance of the
- 7 signature verification committees?
- A. We asked questions for the counties that has
- 9 signature verification committees as to how they did
- 10 things and reported on those procedures.
- 11 Q. Okay. I want to turn to the mail voting
- 12 section of this audit report, which I believe starts on
- 13 Page 198. And just so we are clear for the record, the
- 14 word "TEAM" appears in this report. Does that refer to
- 15 the Texas Election Administration Management database?
- 16 A. It does.
- 17 Q. Okay. And then when you use -- not you, but
- 18 when the SOS uses ABBM in this report, is that
- 19 application for ballot by mail?
- 20 A. Yes, sir.
- 21 Q. And BBM is just the ballot by mail, correct?
- 22
- 23 Q. Okay. I am going to turn quickly to Page 210
- 24 then. The second paragraph, it says, the counties were
- 25 unform in that they did not have a system or spreadsheet

- A. You did. 1
- 2 Q. Okay. Were all of the audited counties offline
- 3 counties?
- A. Yes, they were all offline counties. 4
- 5 Q. Did all of them have delays in uploading
- 6 records to TEAM?
- A. That would not be within my knowledge. 7
- Q. Okay. Do you know who would know that? 8
- A. Somebody who has more knowledge of the TEAM 9
- 10 system.
- 11 Q. Would it be someone within the Forensic Audit
- 12 Division who would know that?
- A. No. 13
- 14 Q. Was any aspect of TEAM evaluated or considered
- 15 during the audit?
- A. What do you mean by that? 16
- 17 Q. Sure. Was the performance of TEAM evaluated?
- 18 A. Could you specify --
- MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form. 19
- 20 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Yeah. Was there anything
- 21 about the accuracy of the records in TEAM that was
- 22 evaluated in the course of the audit?
- 23 A. We were not evaluating TEAM. However, if
- 24 somebody's vote history, as uploaded by the county, was
- 25 inaccurate in TEAM, that's tied to the voter



Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023
Pages 22 to 25

Page 22 1 participating history that's uploaded by the county.

- Q. Okay. Did you find instances where the vote
- 3 history was inaccurate in TEAM?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. How frequently did that occur?
- 6 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 7 A. The frequency is not in the report.
- 8 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) For the purposes of preparing
- 9 this report, did the Forensic Audit Division look into
- 10 mail ballot impersonation fraud?
- 11 A. What do you mean by that?
- 12 Q. Did you conduct any activities or investigation
- 13 that would reveal mail ballot impersonation fraud?
- 14 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 15 A. What type of activities?
- 16 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) I guess that's my question to
- 17 you. Is that something that was being audited? Was
- 18 that within the scope -- let me withdraw that question.
- 19 Was mail ballot fraud within the scope of
- 20 this audit?
- 21 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 22 A. I am not sure I understand that question.
- 23 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Sure. Was -- did you reach
- 24 any conclusions regarding the existence or nonexistence
- 25 of mail ballot fraud in any of these counties?

- Page 24 1 or not mail voter fraud occurred in 2020 for those four
- 2 counties.
- 3 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) I want to look at this
- 4 section on Dallas County, which is on Page 214. And I
- 5 think in that sentence you mentioned difficulties in
- 6 processing the high volume of mail ballots; is that 7 correct?
- 8 A. Yes. Dallas County experienced difficulties in 9 processing the high volume of ballots by mail due to
- 10 staff turnover that occurred just prior to the 2020
- 11 general election.

16

- 12 Q. All right. Is there any other reason you
- 13 identified that wasn't included in here, or is that sort
- 14 of the only conclusion made as to the reason for
- 15 difficulty in processing mail ballots in 2020 in Dallas?
  - A. I'm sorry. Can you rephrase that?
- 17 Q. Sure. So this mentions the conclusion, you
- 18 know, it gives the reason why there was difficulty in
- 19 processing the high volume of mail ballots. Was there
- 20 any reasons that you discovered that weren't reflected
- 21 in the final report?
- 22 A. No. There's additional reasons reflected on
- 23 214, but not that are absent from the report.
- 24 Q. Nothing that's not in the report?
- 25 A. That's correct.

Page 23

- MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- A. We did not reach any conclusions as to whether or not there was mail ballot fraud.
- 4 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Did you assess any procedures
- 5 that might identify whether or not there was mail ballot
- 6 fraud in any of these counties?
- 7 A. Procedures by whom?
- 8 Q. By the counties.
- 9 A. I am not sure that procedures by the counties
- 10 would indicate whether or not there was mail voter
- 11 fraud.

- 12 Q. Okay. Did you assess any procedures by any
- 13 other entity that might indicate whether or not there
- 14 was mail voter fraud?
- 15 A. No. We only assessed the four counties.
- 16 Q. Okay. And so did -- you did assess county
- 17 procedures, though, correct?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. And so I am correct in saying -- your testimony
- 20 here today is that none of those procedures would
- 21 indicate positively or negatively the existence of mail
- 22 voter fraud?
- 23 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form. Misstates
- 24 testimony.
- 25 A. Procedures themselves did not indicate whether

- Page 25 Q. Okay. And then turning to Harris County, which
- 2 is on 216, there's a -- the second sentence here says.
- 3 the BBM process was described to FAD as chaotic. Do you
- 4 know who made that description as chaotic?
- 5 A. It was one of the witnesses or individuals that
- 6 we spoke to during the course of the audit.
- 7 Q. Do you know if that would be someone who worked
- 8 for the Harris County elections office?
- 9 A. Honestly, I can't remember.
- 10 Q. When it says the BBM process, is there any
- 11 specific processes it is referring to?
- 12 A. I think it is the whole process.
- 13 Q. And it says one of the reasons attributed to
- 14 this description was the volume of ballots by mail.
- 15 Were there any other reasons attributed to the
- 16 description of the process as chaotic that aren't
- 17 reflected here?
- 18 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- 19 A. There aren't any other reasons reflected in the
- 20 report.
- 21 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Are there any reasons that
- 22 are not reflected in the report but of which the
- 23 Forensic Audit Division is aware?
- A. What is in the report is what the final
- 25 determinations were.



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Pages 26 to 29

Page 26

- 1 Q. Okay. Was there any evaluation of ABBM 2 processes in Harris County?
- A. What do you mean when you say evaluation?
- 4 Q. Sure. Was there any auditing of ABBM processes 5 in Harris County?
- A. We were not able to discuss the ABBM processes
- 7 in Harris County because Harris County staff was not
- 8 made available regarding that matter.
- Q. Looking at now the last paragraph on 216 but
- 10 then rolls over into 217. On the first line of 217, it
- 11 describes questionable carrier envelope in the sentence.
- 12 Any questionable carrier envelope is removed from a
- 13 batch and wrapped in a separate sheet for further
- 14 review. Do you see where I am?
- 15 A. Yes, sir.
- 16 Q. What is meant by questionable carrier envelope
- 17 in that sentence?
- 18 A. From our understanding out in the field,
- 19 questionable carrier envelope could be one that maybe
- 20 didn't have a matching signature or there was something
- 21 that needed to go on for further review by a ballot
- 22 board or another TEAM. Harris County had a very
- 23 specific system that used multiple TEAMs.
- 24 Q. Is the -- is the description as questionable
- 25 there meant to indicate potential fraud?

- Page 28

  1 there any indication either way of whether a signature
  - 2 itself can be potentially indicative of fraud in the
  - 3 audit report?
  - 4 A. We did not evaluate whether signatures
  - 5 themselves could be potentially indicative of fraud.
  - 6 Q. Okay. All right. Turning to Page 224, there
  - 7 is a section that begins, reason for requesting ballot
  - 8 by mail. I would say that -- is it correct to
  - 9 characterize that in each county in which you had data,
  - 10 the FAD determined that at least some voters who were
  - 11 not eligible were permitted to vote by mail; is that
  - 12 correct?
  - 13 A. So in the data available from the counties, we
  - 14 were able to determine there were some individuals that
  - 15 were not entitled to vote by mail for the reason of age
  - 16 that did appear to have received a ballot.
  - 17 Q. Did the audit division conduct any analysis of
  - 18 the root cause of why that occurred?
  - 19 A. Yes.
  - 20 Q. And what was the audit division's
  - 21 determination?
  - 22 A. There were multiple reasons.
  - 23 Q. And what were they?
  - 24 A. One of the reasons was miscoding by the county.
  - 25 Q. What other reasons?

Page 27

- 1 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.
- A. The description of questionable is the word
- 3 that was used by the witnesses or individuals we were4 able to speak with.
- Q. (BY MR. STEWART) So you are reflecting exactly
- 6 what was said by the individuals interviewed?
- A. I wouldn't say exactly because obviously things
- 8 have been paraphrased. But that was the term that was
- 9 used, and they used in other counties as well,
- 10 questionable or questioned.
- 11 Q. Did the Forensic Audit Division have any
- 12 understanding that the term "questionable" meant a
- 13 ballot could be fraudulent?
- 14 A. We didn't have an understanding of that.
- 15 Questionable usually meant that they couldn't agree, so
- 16 they asked another set of eyes to look at it.
- 17 Q. Couldn't agree on what specifically?
- 18 A. The signatures.
- 19 Q. The signature. Is a signature itself
- 20 potentially indicative of fraud?
- 21 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form. And how you
- 22 phrase it is outside the scope of her deposition topics.
- 23 A. I don't know that I can speak to that. It is
- 24 not reflected in the report.
- 25 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Let me ask it that way. Is

- Page 29
  A. Another reason would be attaching a record, for
- 2 example, in a junior, senior situation, to the wrong
- 3 individual. So it -- the record may have reflected that
- 4 a ballot by mail was issued to the junior when in fact
- 5 the senior had requested it, and the senior was the one
- 6 who wanted to vote by mail.
- 7 Q. Were there any reasons that would have been
- 8 based on an action of the voter as opposed to county
- 9 election officials?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. What were those?
- 12 A. Not including information on the application
- 13 for a ballot by mail that would have indicated they were
- 14 eligible to vote by mail.
- 15 Q. Any others?
- 16 A. Yes. For example -- let's see here. On
- 17 Page 226, 42 voters had applications that requested to
- 18 vote by mail due to being 65 or older, but date of birth
- 19 records indicated the voters were not 65.
- 20 Q. Any reasons that aren't reflected here on the
- 21 report?
- 22 A. No.
  - Q. Turning to Page 229. It appears that with
- 24 respect to Dallas County you identified an issue
- 25 described here as bulk applications for ballot by mail,



Page 30

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1 correct?

A. Yes. 2

Q. Can you describe just briefly for me what that 4 issue was?

A. We identified from their record that they had 6 boxes containing applications received in bundle for 7 ballots by mail.

Q. Did you determine whether those applications 9 received in bundle for ballots by mail violated state 10 law?

11 A. We do not make those determinations.

12 Q. Okay. Did you refer this matter to the

13 Attorney General's office?

14 MS. HUNKER: Objection. I am going to 15 raise investigative privilege. This is not saying you

16 can't answer, but I am going to advise you to only

17 answer information that either would be publicly

18 available or would not compromise the integrity of the

19 investigation as well as any specific information or

20 details that would be related to an ongoing prosecution

21 or one that was referred.

MR. STEWART: Just for the clarity of the 22 23 record, would that include information whether it was 24 referred at all? Just a yes or no.

25 MS. HUNKER: If she is talking about

Page 32 1 the source of 55 ABBMs submitted with the same

2 individual's name as the assistant on all 55

3 applications. Did the audit division speak with that

4 assistant?

5 A. We did not.

6 Q. Did you speak with any of the voters?

7 A. We did not.

Q. Did you visit that facility? 8

9 A. We did not.

10 Q. Okay. Did you determine whether this -- did

11 you attempt to determine, let me say, whether the same

12 assistant also attempted to assistant the same voters

13 with their ballots?

14 A. We attempted to locate the carrier envelopes

15 associated with the voters with that subset of data.

16 Q. Did the Forensic Audit Division find any

17 evidence that the ABBMs at issue were not personally

18 signed by the voters or at their direction?

19 A. What do you mean by evidence?

20 Q. Did you conduct any investigation into whether

21 the voters, the 55 voters identified, personally signed

22 these ABBMs, or they were signed by an assistant at

23 their direction?

24 A. We just reviewed the records.

25 Q. Okay. All right. I want to turn quickly to

Page 31 1 specifics, yes. If she is talking about like the

2 generality of like a subject area --

MR. STEWART: Okay.

4 MS. HUNKER: -- then no. I just want to

5 make sure she doesn't get into the nitty-gritty.

MR. STEWART: Yeah. I just want to 6

7 understand the line.

A. The Office of the Attorney General had agreed

9 to assist with providing additional information so that

10 occurrence in Dallas County could be referred to the

11 local authorities for investigation and potential 12 prosecution.

13

Q. (BY MR. STEWART) I see. Do you know whether

14 there have been any prosecutions based on this issue

15 identified in this report here?

A. That is not within the scope of my knowledge. 16

17 Q. Okay. Did the Forensic Audit Division speak

18 with the -- any individuals involved or described here?

19 A. Can you be more specific?

20 Q. Sure. So I think it identifies an assistant

21 who signed multiple ABBMs as an assistant. Did you

22 speak with that individual?

23 A. Which page are we on?

24 Q. I think we are on 230. One address in

25 particular identified as an assisted living facility was

1 the voter register topic, which is back on Page 42.

2 MR. STEWART: Where are we on record time?

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3 MS. HUNKER: You said 42?

4 MR. STEWART: 42, yes.

5 MS. HUNKER: I have you at five minutes

6 remaining.

7 MR. STEWART: What's that?

Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Actually, you know what, I

9 asked this question already, so I don't think we need to

10 go there. Actually, I will ask briefly about the

11 complaint section beginning on 351, but I don't think we

12 need to turn there. I just want to ask. Did the

13 Forensic Audit Division analyze the substance of any of

14 the complaints as to whether they were accurate or not?

15 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

16 A. We did not evaluate the accuracy of the

17 complaints.

18 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Okay. Who reviewed the audit

19 report before it was filed?

20 A. I reviewed the report.

21 Q. Did anyone else?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Who else reviewed it?

24 A. Our director.

25 Q. Anyone else outside the audit division review



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Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023
Pages 34 to 37

1 it before it was finalized?

2 A. The secretary.

3 Q. Anyone outside the Secretary of State's office

4 review it before it was finalized?

5 A. I believe the governor's office reviewed parts 6 of it.

7 Q. Did the governor's office recommend any

8 changes?

9 A. I believe so, yes.

10 Q. Were they substantive as to the conclusions?

11 A. No.

12 Q. What was the nature of those changes?

13 A. I do not recall. It's been several months

14 since the nature of those changes were.

15 Q. Do you know who would know that?

16 A. I can probably try to find an answer for you on 17 that.

18 Q. I would appreciate that. Thank you.

19 A. Okay.

20 Q. Was there anyone -- leaving aside the governor

21 and the governor's office, was there anyone outside the

22 Secretary of State's office who requested or directed

23 that conclusions be changed before the audit report was

24 finalized?

25 MS. HUNKER: Objection. Form.

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MR. STEWART: With that, I have no further

2 questions. I don't know if anyone on the Zoom has a

3 question that will take one minute.

All right. Thank you. I will pass the

5 witness.

6 THE WITNESS: I think one person just

7 popped up. But you are muted, sir.

MS. PERELAS: No questions here.

9 MR. GENECIN: Am I unmuted? Can you hear

10 me?

8

11

MR. STEWART: You are, Victor.

12 MR. GENECIN: Good.

13 EXAMINATION

14 BY MR. GENECIN:

15 Q. Ms. Doyer, my name is Victor Genecin. I am a

16 lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and I

17 represent the Houston Area Urban League Plaintiff, and I

18 just have a few questions for you. I would like to draw

19 your attention to Page 6 of Exhibit 23, the section

20 labeled key findings.

21 MS. HUNKER: So I am going to interject.

22 We have reached the seven-hour limit for the 30(b)(6)

23 deposition, and so I am going to ask that we go off the

24 record and close out the deposition.

25 (Off the record.)

Page 35

1 A. No.

2 Q. (BY MR. STEWART) Okay. Were there any 3 topics -- topical areas that were included in the audit

4 design but are not reflected in the final report?

A. What do you mean by audit design?

6 Q. Sure. So when you were coming up with the 7 scope of the audit and the activities that would be

8 undertaken to, you know, evaluate the counties'

9 processes, were there subject areas that were planned

10 for evaluation but ultimately were not included in the

11 final report?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. What were those?

14 A. We wanted to look at, for example, poll worker

15 staffing at polling locations.

16 Q. Anything related to mail balloting?

17 A. Like I said, it was data driving. So if the

18 data was there, we were able to evaluate and make a

19 report of the conclusions and decisions.

20 Q. So there is nothing specific you can recall

21 that related to mail balloting that was sort of dropped

22 from the scope of the report between the audit design

23 and the final report?

24 A. No.

25 Q. Okay.

1 MS. HUNKER: After consulting with my

2 client, we've agreed to give an additional 15 minutes so

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3 that the OCA greater Plaintiff's counsel can ask his

4 line of questions.

MR. GENECIN: Thank you very much.

6 Q. (BY MR. GENECIN) Ms. Doyer, I would like to

7 draw your attention to Page 6 of the -- of Exhibit 23,

8 section called key findings. Are you there?

9 A. I am.

5

10 Q. And specifically the next to last sentence of

11 that section reads, many of the irregularities observed

12 in the audit are less likely to occur in future

13 elections due to legislative changes made following the

14 2020 general election including Senate Bill 1. Did I

15 read that section correctly?

16 A. Yes, sir.

17 Q. What is the basis in the audit for the sentence

18 that I just read?

19 A. There were many improvements that came

20 legislatively that can preclude the volume in some of

21 what we saw in the records that we reviewed in those

22 four counties.

Q. What are those changes?

A. The mail ballot tracker, for example.

25 Q. Any others?



Jacqueline Doyer

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			Pages 38 to 41
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	ballot by mail that had the identifiers been included, then perhaps the voter record would have been more accurate and the correct voter would have been reflected as having voted by mail.  Q. Anything else? A. Yeah, the reconciliation forms. Q. What are those? A. There are two forms that must be filled out. One will include unofficial results and one would include official records. And but it gives a county-wide look at reconciling ballots versus voters so	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Page 40 voter appeared to have voted and had vote history. So hopefully the corrective action process would eliminate some of those irregularities.  Q. Are there any other irregularities that would be alleviated by Senate Bill 1?  A. There may be. That's those are the ones I can recall off the top of my head.  Q. Why don't we leave a blank in the transcript, and if you are able to think of any others when you review the transcript and sign it, you will add them in. All right?  A. Yes, sir.  Q. Thanks very much.  MR. GENECIN: I will pass the witness. THE WITNESS: Thank you. MS. HUNKER: We can close out then the deposition and dismiss the witness, and we ask for read and sign.  (Proceedings ended at 4:03 p.m.)
22	it can identify any issues at a high level early on that	22	
_	can be addressed.	23	
24	,	24	
25	A. It is not fully implemented yet, but the	25	
2 3 4 5 6 7	Page 39 paper-based audit trail that's going to be required by virtue of SB1 that will significantly assist with any issues that we saw, for example, in Harris County with the DREs. Q. What were those issues? A. One of the issues was the lack of the paper ballot trail, which, because there was no way to access	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	
	the content of the mobile ballot boxes, we were unable to verify the contents of those mobile ballot boxes.	9	
	The equipment had been destroyed. There was no way to	10	
	access them. And there was a significant chain of	11	
	custody issue that affected, you know, the whole	12	
	process. And I think there were at least 1,084 ballots	13	
	that lacked proper chain of custody.	14	<del></del>
15	Q. Are there any other irregularities you observed	15	
	in the audit that are less likely to occur at future	16	
	elections because of legislative changes made following the 2020 general election including Senate Bill 1?	17 18	
19	A. The corrective action process will should	19	
	help with mail ballots. That didn't exist prior to	20	
	Senate Bill 1. Harris County had a sort of informal	21	
	•		



review process that they engaged in, which was helpful
in assisting the voters. Any irregularity we observed,
however, was that there were several instances where
Harris County marked a ballot as unresolved, yet that

Jacqueline Doyer

March 29, 2023

Pages 42 to 44

				_
	Page 42			Page 44
1	I, JACQUELINE DOYER, have read the	1		Subscribed and sworn to on this day
	foregoing deposition and hereby affix my signature that		of,	2023.
2	same is true and correct, except as noted above.	2	·	
3		3		
	JACQUELINE DOYER	3		
4	ONO COLUMN	4		<u>~~</u>
5		5		
		6		Varantal
6				011039
7	THE STATE OF TEXAS)	7		JAZZMEN C. CANALES, Texas CSR 9344
8	COUNTY OF)			Expiration Date: 04/30/2025
9	Before me,, on	8		MAGNA LEGAL SERVICES
	this day personally appeared JACQUELINE DOYER, known to			Firm Registration No. 633
10	me (or proved to me under oath or through			_
	) (description of identity card	9		1635 Market Street
11	or other document) to be the person whose name is			Suite 800
	subscribed to the foregoing instrument and acknowledged	10		Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103
10				Telephone: 866-624-6621
12	to me that they executed the same for the purposes and			1e1ephone: 000-024-0021
	consideration therein expressed.	11		
13		12		l
	Given under my hand and seal of office	13		
14	this, day of, 2023.			l
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16		15		
		16		
17		17		
18				
19		18		
20		19		
	NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR	20		
21	THE STATE OF TEXAS			
	MY COMMISSION EXPIRES:	21		
22	MI COMMISSION EXPIRES.	22		
		23		
23		24		
24				
25		25		
	Page 43			
1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT			
	FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS			
2	SAN ANTONIO DIVISION			
		1		
3	LA UNION DEL PUEBLO )			
	ENTERO, ET AL.,			
3				
4	ENTERO, ET AL., ) Plaintiffs, )			
	ENTERO, ET AL.,  plaintiffs, )  VS.  CIVIL ACTION NO.			
4 5	ENTERO, ET AL.,  Plaintiffs, )  VS.  OCIVIL ACTION NO.  5:21-CV-844 (XR)			
4	ENTERO, ET AL.,  plaintiffs, )  VS.  CIVIL ACTION NO.			
4 5	ENTERO, ET AL.,  Plaintiffs, )  VS.  CIVIL ACTION NO.  5:21-CV-844 (XR)  STATE OF TEXAS, ET AL.,			
4 5 6	ENTERO, ET AL.,  Plaintiffs, )  VS.  CIVIL ACTION NO.  5:21-CV-844 (XR)  STATE OF TEXAS, ET AL.,			
4 5 6 7 8	ENTERO, ET AL., Plaintiffs, ) VS.  CIVIL ACTION NO. 5:21-CV-844 (XR)  STATE OF TEXAS, ET AL., Defendants. )			
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Jacqueline Doyer March 29, 2023 Index: 009..analyze

0	3	Α
<b>009</b> 38:2	<b>30(b)(6)</b> 36:22	<b>ABBM</b> 19:18 26:1,4,6
	<b>300</b> 2:4	<b>ABBMS</b> 20:1 31:21 32:1,17,22
1	<b>351</b> 33:11	ability 6:9 7:14
<b>1</b> 20:2 37:14 38:1 39:18,21 40:5	<b>359-page</b> 15:13	above-styled 1:19
<b>1,084</b> 39:13	<b>36</b> 3:5	absent 24:23
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2		<b>add</b> 7:4 40:11
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# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

# **APPENDIX K**

# Subject to Protective Order

# EXPERT WITNESS REPORT

La Union del Pueblo Entero v. Abbott, No. 5:21-cv-844 (W.D. Tex.) (lead case)

Submitted by

Mark Hoekstra, PhD

Date of Report

March 3, 2023

#### I. Introduction

1. I have been engaged to respond to the second supplemental report dated February 10, 2023, that was written by Professor Eitan Hersh in the consolidated case *La Union del Pueblo Entero v. Abbott*, No. 5:21-cv-844 (W.D. Tex.). My analysis is based on my knowledge and experience as an active research economist who is well versed in the frontier empirical methods used in causal analyses.

# II. Qualifications and Compensation

- 2. I am the Rex B. Grey Professor of Economics at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas, where I have been on the faculty since 2011. Prior to arriving at Texas A&M, I was an assistant professor of economics at the University of Pittsburgh. I received my PhD in Economics from the University of Florida in 2006. I have published more than 20 papers in peer-reviewed journals in economics, including the American Economic Association's (AEA) top journal of American Economic Review as well as the top AEA journals relevant to my field (American Economic Journal: Applied Economics and American Economic Journal: Economic Policy) and top field journals (Journal of Labor Economics; Journal of Public Economics; Journal of Human Resources). These studies have used a wide variety of administrative datasets, including data on voting. I serve as a reviewer for approximately 20 paper submissions per year, including for top economics journals. I serve as an Associate Editor at the Journal of Labor Economics (since 2018) and at the Journal of Human Resources (since 2015), which are the top two field journals in labor economics.
- 3. The common theme throughout both my research and my teaching is careful attention to the assumptions underlying various research designs used to assess the causal impact of policies. Some of my research is used as examples in the textbook *Causal Inference: The Mixtape* by Scott Cunningham, which is a leading graduate-level book on empirical methods used in economics. I teach a PhD-level field course in labor economics, the focus of which is on understanding and assessing the

various research methodologies used by economists and other social scientists. These include the methods used to test for racial and gender bias in different settings. I also teach part of the core 1<sup>st</sup>-year PhD sequence in econometrics, in which I focus on how to assess causality in non-experimental contexts. I am perhaps best known among the PhD students as someone who offers advice on research projects, including whether the proposed method is sufficient to answer the question at hand. I recently won department-level awards for both the quality of graduate teaching and the quality of feedback given to students. During my time at Texas A&M, I have chaired more than 10 dissertation committees, and many of my students have gone on to careers at R-1 research universities. I have served on the committees of countless more PhD students.

- 4. I also hold an appointment as a Research Fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and as a Research Fellow at the Institute for Labor Economics (IZA) based in Bonn, Germany. In 2012 I received the IZA Young Labor Economist Award.
- 5. I am being compensated for my time at the rate of \$600/hour. I have not previously testified as an expert witness.

# III. Assessment of Professor Hersh's second supplemental report – Overview

6. What does the November 2022 election—the first federal election since the passage of SB1—tell us about the actual impact of SB1 on mail-in voting? To what extent did the new identification requirements impose a sufficiently large burden on voters as to deter voting? A useful upper-bound for the right answer to that question is buried deep inside Professor Hersh's Second Supplemental Report. In it, he calculates that among the more than 8.1 million votes cast, there were only 6,355 mail-in ballots that were rejected for a reason relating to identification, and where the voter did not cure the ballot or vote in person. That is well less than one out of every one thousand votes

statewide. Importantly, even this figure of 6,355 votes overstates the extent to which election officials failed to count mail-in votes that had been legally and properly cast, for two reasons:

- A. Some, and potentially all, of these ballots may have been illegitimate. There is nothing in Professor Hersh's report, or in the underlying data, to indicate whether or not those rejected mail-in votes were cast legally. To the extent that some or all of those votes were illegitimate, Professor Hersh consistently misinterprets illegitimate votes as evidence that SB1 improperly caused a reduction in legitimate voting.
- B. Some, and potentially all, of these 6,355 ballots could have been rejected because voters failed to write down *any* identification number on the ballot. Professor Hersh cannot distinguish between ballots that were cast without writing down any identification number at all, from those that were cast, to quote his first report, "in perfect accordance with the state's instructions under SB 1". In fact, there is nothing in Professor Hersh's report, save for one flawed analysis that I discuss below, that suggests the database issues he emphasizes are responsible for *any* of these 6,355 mail-in vote rejections under SB1.
- 7. As a result of these factors, the proper interpretation of Professor Hersh's analysis is that there were *at most* 6,355 fewer legitimate votes cast and counted as a result of SB1, out of more than 8.1 million total votes. For the reasons described above, the true number of legally cast mail-in votes that went uncounted—and especially the true number of legally and properly cast votes that went uncounted—is almost certainly smaller than that, and possibly zero.
- 8. Moreover, the identification requirements of SB1 are still relatively new, and as with any new process, there is a learning curve for both election administrators and voters. That fact, combined with the likelihood that at least some of the rejected votes counted by Professor Hersh were rejected due to voter error, suggests that the effect of SB1 going forward will likely be smaller than it was for the November 2022 election. And as described above, the impact on that election was less than, and possibly much less than, 0.078 percent of all votes cast and counted.
- 9. As alluded to above, there is only one analysis in Professor Hersh's Second Supplemental report that claims to provide any evidence that ballot rejections were "likely to be related to SB 1 requirements". I demonstrate below that this analysis is based on three faulty assumptions. The consequence of those assumptions is that Professor Hersh would improperly conclude that the

higher rejection rates among those he classifies as "at risk" are caused by the database issues. Instead, the higher rejection rates could be due to differences in failing to provide a signature, or in failing to include a statement of residence. Alternatively, some or all of the differential could be due to "at risk" voters viewing in-person voting as a close-if-not-perfect substitute, consistent with empirical evidence I documented in my first report. Third, the differential could be due to other differences between the two groups of people, who are likely different in many ways, including those not observed in the data.

- 10. Finally, in his Second Supplemental report, Professor Hersh also replicates the analysis of the state databases that he performed in his previous reports. In doing so, he addresses the following question: How many Texans would need to, in Professor Hersh's words, "be lucky", in order to cast a mail ballot without their application or ballot being rejected? As I documented in my response to his initial report, there are numerous flawed assumptions in that analysis. Put simply, that analysis assumed that everything that can go wrong with absentee voting will go wrong, ignored important aspects of the voting process, and did so for a population of mail-in voters that is vastly larger than anything observed in Texas history, including during the worst pandemic in 100 years.
- 11. Strikingly, Professor Hersh's own empirical analyses in his Second Supplemental Report directly contradict most, if not all, of the assumptions and conclusions he made in his analyses of the voter databases.
  - A. For example, his simulation of voting using the voter databases ignored the ballot curing process, and assumed that would-be absentee voters are never willing to vote in person instead. In contrast, Professor Hersh's analysis of actual voting in the 2022 election indicated that a large fraction of initially-rejected mail-in ballots were in fact cured, and that nearly half of mail-in ballots rejected for identification reasons are associated with a registrant whose record also shows they subsequently chose to, and were able to, vote successfully either by mail or in person.
  - B. In assuming that everything that can go wrong will go wrong, Professor Hersh's simulation of voter databases also concluded that 15 percent of absentee ballots would be rejected. His analysis of actual voting in the 2022 general election shows that only 4.1 percent of mail-in ballots were initially rejected.

12. The net result of these, and other, unfounded assumptions is that Professor Hersh's analyses of voter databases, both in his second supplemental report and earlier reports, make the dire warning that as many as 2.7 million voters could be impacted by SB1's identification restrictions. His analysis of actual voting directly contradicts this and shows that at most—at most—6,355 fewer votes were cast and counted than would have been otherwise. Moreover, some or all of these may have been illegitimate, or may have been caused by a voter's failure to write down any identification number, rather than being caused by the database issues emphasized by Professor Hersh.

# IV. The maximum number of votes not counted in the November 2022 federal election due to SB1's identification requirements

- 13. To what extent did SB1's identification requirements result in fewer legitimate votes being cast and counted during the 2022 federal election? This is an important question for understanding the likely burden that SB1 places on would-be absentee voters. Were SB1's identification rules so stringent, and the voter databases so insufficient, as to burden would-be legitimate absentee voters so much that they were unable to cast votes? If the answer were yes, this would indeed be problematic. But the data do not support such a conclusion.
- 14. It turns out that Professor Hersh's analysis of the 2022 election data contains a useful estimate of the maximum number of legally and properly cast votes that election officials failed to count, though it is buried deep in Professor Hersh's report. Despite the dire warnings that Professor Hersh had issued and continues to issue regarding the likely impact of the database issue on absentee voting—namely, that 2.7 million registered voters in Texas could be impacted—Professor Hersh's own analysis indicates there were only 6,355 absentee votes that were rejected, where the voter also did not subsequently cast a ballot successfully either by mail or in person. This is shown in paragraph 21 of Professor Hersh's Second Supplemental report. Professor Hersh states there are 11,430 records indicating votes that were rejected due to reasons relating to identification verification. However,

nearly half of the registered voters associated with these rejections—44.6 percent—were subsequently able to vote successfully either in person or by curing their ballot. That suggests that out of the more than 8.1 million votes cast in Texas during the 2022 federal election, only 6,355 mail-in votes were rejected due to an identification-related reason, and associated with names of individuals who were not subsequently observed to vote successfully either by mail or in person.<sup>1</sup>

- 15. Put another way, when put into practice, the concerns Professor Hersh identified reduced the total number of votes cast and counted in the general election by, at most, 0.078 percent.
- 16. Moreover, even this figure of 6,355 votes overstates the true extent to which SB1's identification requirements reduced the total number of legitimate votes cast by voters who, in Professor Hersh's words, voted "in perfect accordance with the state's instructions under SB 1", for two reasons:
  - A. Some, and potentially all, of these ballots may have been illegitimate. Put simply, there is nothing in Professor Hersh's report, or in the underlying data, to indicate whether or not those rejected mail-in votes were legitimate ballots cast by the person who was registered to vote under that name. To be clear, I do not know whether these 6,355 votes were cast legally. But neither can Professor Hersh know, based on the data available to him. What I know is that it is possible for some or all of those votes to have been illegitimate, in which case Professor Hersh consistently misinterprets illegitimate votes as evidence that SB1 improperly caused a reduction in legitimate voting.

This error leads to perverse consequences for the evaluation of SB1, given that the Texas Legislature's stated purpose for passing the law was to reduce the likelihood of illegally cast ballots. Even if the only effect of the identification restrictions imposed by SB1 is to prevent fraudulent votes from being counted, Professor Hersh misinterprets those ballot rejections as evidence that SB1 is improperly reducing legitimate voting, rather than accomplishing its stated aim.

B. Some, and potentially all, of these 6,355 ballots could have been rejected because voters failed to write down *any* identification number on the ballot. Put simply, Professor Hersh cannot distinguish between ballots that were cast without writing down any identification number at all, and those that were rejected because the number written down did not match the number in the state database due to the issues he emphasizes. That is because all of the codes that he uses to infer the rejection was due to identification verification, which are listed in footnote 7 of his second supplemental report, indicate things like "Incorrect or Missing SSN/TDL#". None of them distinguish between not writing down

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  11,430\*(1-0.446) = 6,355.

one's ID number at all and writing down a number that does not match the state database. That information is simply not recorded in the data.

- 17. In fact, there is nothing in Professor Hersh's report, save for one flawed analysis that I discuss in the following section, that suggests the database issues he emphasizes are responsible for *any* mail-in ballot rejections, including for these 6,355 cases.
- 18. In short, the problem is that Professor Hersh (mis)classifies any ballot rejection as due to SB1, even if that is a rejection due to voter error, or if the vote itself is illegitimate. This is particularly misleading given that Professor Hersh uses the same language in attributing blame for the ballot rejections in the actual data as he does when he describes potential ballot rejections based on his simulation using voter databases. For example, in his second supplemental report, Professor Hersh asserts that 2.7 million registered voters in Texas could run into problems when voting absentee due to the "SB 1 identification verification rule", or due to "SB 1's verification procedures". His empirical analysis of actual voting echoes this language in that it makes no fewer than six references to ballots being rejected on account of "SB 1 identification rules", "SB 1 identification issues", or "SB 1 grounds". Yet the empirical analysis cannot distinguish between rejections due to state database issues from rejections due to voter error, or even due to fraudulent voting.
- 19. Professor Hersh's inability to distinguish voters' failures to follow instructions from rejections caused by the database issue he emphasizes also has important implications going forward. To the extent that some or all of the rejections he documents are due to voters failing to write down an identification number, we should expect to see further declines in mail-in ballot rejections in future elections. That is because as with most new rules, there is a learning curve for both election administrators and voters. This was evident in the fact that the mail-in ballot rejection rate fell from 12.4 percent to 2.7 percent from the 2022 primary election to the 2022 general election.<sup>2</sup> It was also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rejections of Texans' mail ballots decline markedly from big surge in March primary (dallasnews.com)

explicitly acknowledged by the Brazos County Elections Administrator, who indicated that many of the November 2022 mail-in ballot rejections for the November 2022 election she had seen at the time of the interview were from voters who had not yet learned, despite election administrators' best efforts, to follow the new rules.<sup>3</sup>

# V. The only evidence offered by Professor Hersh suggesting ballot rejections are due to the database issue is deeply flawed

- 20. Professor Hersh's main argument, throughout all of his reports, is that imperfections in the state databases used to verify a mail-in voter's identity will cause officials to reject legitimate votes, even if individuals fill out the ballot properly. The problem, which is both unacknowledged and unaddressed by Professor Hersh, is that Professor Hersh cannot discern in the data whether a mail-in ballot was rejected because the voter did not write down an identification number (or wrote the identification number incorrectly), or if the number was correctly written down by the voter but did not match the number in the state database. Thus, as described in the previous section, it is not clear that *any* of the rejected mail-in ballots that Professor Hersh identifies in his data are due to the database issue he emphasizes so much.
- 21. Professor Hersh only provides one analysis claiming to provide evidence that it is this database issue, rather than voter error or even illegitimate voting, that causes the mail-in vote rejections. Unfortunately, this analysis is deeply flawed. In paragraph 27, Professor Hersh compares the mail-in ballot rejection rates of those 2.7 million Texans who he identifies as "at-risk" (mostly because they are associated with two ID numbers in the system), versus the rest of registered voters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Of the voters who had voted in the primary, Ms. Hancock said "This is a new process for them. Those who voted in the primary and the runoff know what they need to do, as opposed to someone who is only voting in the November election." See <a href="https://www.texastribune.org/2022/10/20/voting-texas-ballot-rejections/">https://www.texastribune.org/2022/10/20/voting-texas-ballot-rejections/</a>.

While this may seem intuitively sensible, there are three critical flaws in Professor Hersh's execution of this analysis, any one of which is sufficient to be fatal.

- A. The first problem is that in comparing the rate at which the two groups never cast a successful ballot, Professor Hersh inexplicably counts all of the mail-in ballots that were not counted, even though many, if not most, of these ballots were not counted for reasons that have nothing to do with the identification requirements of SB1. For example, Professor Hersh counts those whose ballots were rejected for reasons that have nothing to do with the identification requirements of SB1, as well as those whose ballots were returned late, or even not returned at all. As a result, the resulting analysis provides no evidence that the difference in the mail-in ballot success rates of the two groups is due to SB1, rather than other unrelated differences in behavior across the two groups.
- B. The second problem is that, as in his analyses of voter databases, Professor Hersh ignores the issue of substitution. As I noted in my first report, the best research on this topic, published in a top journal by Stanford and UCLA researchers, indicates that Texas absentee voters view absentee and in-person voting as close-if-not-perfect substitutes. In this analysis, Professor Hersh does not account for this, at all. Thus, it is possible the entire differential documented by Professor Hersh is driven by the fact that the voters deemed to be "at-risk" by Professor Hersh subsequently vote in person at higher rates than those deemed "not at-risk". Indeed, this would be unsurprising, if Professor Hersh is correct that these individuals are somewhat more likely to encounter a problem when attempting to vote absentee. Yet Professor Hersh's analysis ignores this issue.
- C. The third problem is that Professor Hersh ignores the fact that correlation is not causation. That is, anytime there are two groups of individuals that differ in one dimension—in this case, whether they qualify as "at risk" in Professor Hersh's analysis—they can differ in other ways as well, such as the likelihood of voting by mail, for reasons that have nothing to do with the first factor.<sup>4</sup>
- 22. To be clear, Professor Hersh's analysis on this issue would conclude that the difference in mail-in voting rejection rates "is likely to be related to SB 1 requirements" even if the entire differential were due to the one group of people being more likely to forget to write down a number or sign their name on the ballot, or even remembering to return the ballot at all, none of which have anything to do with the database issue he emphasizes. Similarly, Professor Hersh's analysis would conclude the difference "is likely to be related to SB 1 requirements" even if the entire differential were

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A trivial example is that while people who live in rural areas may vote for Republicans more often than people who live in urban areas, that does not mean that the locational difference is causing the difference in voting preferences. Rather, it is possible that these individuals differ in other ways, such as views on the appropriate size of government, or any number of other factors, that could influence both locational choice and voting preferences.

due to "at-risk" voters choosing the close-if-not-perfect substitute of voting in person more often than not-at-risk voters. Finally, Professor Hersh's analysis would conclude the difference "is likely to be related to SB 1 requirements" *even if* the difference in successful mail voting is caused by other differences between "at-risk" and "not at-risk" groups, which likely differ in many ways, including those unobserved in the data.

# VI. Professor Hersh's assumptions and conclusions from his analysis of state databases are directly contradicted by his own analysis of the data from the 2022 federal election

- 23. In his second supplemental report, Professor Hersh replicates an analysis previously performed in earlier reports aimed at assessing the fraction and number of registered voters in Texas who could encounter a problem when attempting to vote absentee under SB1. He did this by attempting to simulate what would hypothetically happen if every registered voter in Texas were to vote absentee, under a range of assumptions about voting laid out in several thousand lines of code.
- 24. In my response, I documented many of the implausible assumptions of that analysis. Put simply, Professor Hersh assumed that everything that could go wrong in absentee voting would go wrong, and did so for a population of absentee voters that is vastly larger than anything Texas has ever observed in history. In addition, the assumptions he used ignored important aspects of actual absentee voting in Texas, such as the fact that the Texas Secretary of State recommends that voters write down two numbers, which would solve nearly all of the database issues emphasized by Professor Hersh; the ballot curing process; and the fact that existing empirical evidence indicates in-person voting is a close-if-not-perfect substitute for absentee voting.
- 25. It turns out that Professor Hersh's own empirical analyses in his Second Supplemental Report directly contradict the conclusions from his analyses of the voter databases, and the assumptions used to generate those conclusions. These contradictions include the following:

- A. Professor Hersh's simulations assumed that zero mail-in voters who encountered problems would cure their ballots. That assumption is refuted by his own analysis of actual voting in the 2022 federal election. In Paragraph 19, he points out that of the 13,638 mail-in ballot rejections, "about 40%" have a status code that indicates the ballot was accepted, which Professor Hersh attributes to the ballot being initially rejected but eventually cured and accepted.
- B. Similarly, Professor Hersh's simulations of voting assume that zero absentee voters who encounter difficulties will vote in person. In contrast, while he does not break down in-person voting separately from the curing of ballots, his analysis of actual voting in the 2022 federal election indicates this likely happened. In Paragraph 21, he states that of the 11,430 records indicating voters who were rejected due to an identification-related reason, nearly half of them (44.4 percent) are associated with a registrant whose record also shows they were able to vote successfully either by mail or in person. Importantly, as noted earlier, neither Professor Hersh nor I can rule out the possibility that the voters who voted successfully were the *only* ones among these 11,430 rejections who were attempting to cast legitimate votes.
- C. As I demonstrated in my first report, Professor Hersh's analysis of voter records assumes that every Texan who has more than one DPS identification number writes down the number they did *not* register with. Put differently, faced with deciding which of two DPS numbers to put down on the ballot, Professor Hersh assumes that not only will every Texan fail to remember the number they registered with, but they will also guess wrong, every time. Similarly, Professor Hersh assumes that every absentee voter will write down only one number, even though the Texas Secretary of State, and at least some local election officials, strongly recommend writing down both a DPS number and the last four digits of the Social Security Number.<sup>5</sup>
- 26. Professor Hersh's analysis of actual voting in 2022 also directly contradicts these assumptions. While Professor Hersh's simulations indicated that up to 16 percent of absentee voters would encounter problems, his analysis of actual voting in Paragraph 19 of his report indicates that the initial rejection rate was one-fourth of that.
- 27. What is the net effect of all of the assumptions of Professor Hersh's analysis of state voter databases? Professor Hersh would have you believe his dire warnings, both in the second supplemental report and earlier reports, that 2.6 to 2.7 million registered voters in Texas could be disenfranchised due to the identification requirements imposed by SB1. And indeed, in a hypothetical world that operated according to the implausible assumptions he lays out, that may well be true. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For example, see <a href="https://www.sos.state.tx.us/about/newsreleases/2022/101222.shtml">https://www.sos.state.tx.us/about/newsreleases/2022/101222.shtml</a>.

in the real world of voting in Texas, Professor Hersh's own analysis indicates that out of more than 8.1 million votes cast, there are at most 6,355 ballots that went uncounted. That is 0.078 percent of all votes cast, or 0.036 percent of all registered voters in Texas.<sup>6</sup> In short, Professor Hersh's simulation estimate of failed mail-in voting was 417 times as large as his own empirical estimate based on actual voting.<sup>7</sup> And as noted earlier, this much lower number is itself inflated, given some or all of these rejections could have been fraudulent votes, or even if not, could be due to voters failing to write down any identification number.

#### VII. Conclusion

28. In the conclusion of my first report in response to Professor Hersh, I stated that the burden imposed by SB1 on the handful of voters impacted by SB1 is likely minimal, and quite possibly zero. Professor Hersh's own empirical analyses in his second supplemental report provides direct evidence in support of that opinion. In addition, his empirical analyses of the 2022 election directly contradict both the assumptions used in his analyses of voter databases, and his conclusion that 2.7 million registered Texan voters could have their mail-in ballots rejected even if they fill out the ballot correctly. In particular, Professor Hersh's empirical analysis demonstrates that in the 2022 federal election, there were *at most* 6,355 mail-in votes that were rejected for identification reasons and were not cured or cast in person. By comparison, over 8.1 million votes were cast in that election. Moreover, given the clear learning curve associated with new regulations such as those imposed by SB1, as demonstrated by the decline in rejections from the primary to the general election of 2022, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Per the Secretary of State Website, there were 8,102,908 votes cast and counted in the 2022 federal election. Thus, as a fraction of total votes cast and counted, 0.078 percent (6,355/8,102,908) of all votes cast were potentially "lost" due to SB1, or 0.036 percent of all registered voters in Texas (6,355/17,672,143). See <a href="https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/70-92.shtml">https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/historical/70-92.shtml</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Professor Hersh's estimate of the potential mail-in ballot rejections was 15 to 16 percent of all registered voters; 15/0.036 = 417.

well as factors laid out in my previous report, I believe it is likely that if anything, the rate of rejections

will continue to decline going forward.

29. Importantly, even that figure of 6,355 exceeds the actual number of legally and

properly cast votes that were not counted. This is because some, and potentially all, of those rejections

could have occurred because the vote was illegally cast. Similarly, some, and potentially all, of those

ballots could have been rejected because voters did not write down any identification number (or

mistakenly wrote down an incorrect number). Professor Hersh cannot distinguish between either of

those interpretations and his own hypothesis that the rejections were all due to the database issue

deficiencies he asserts. Put differently, Professor Hersh's own analysis is consistent with a belief that

exactly zero legitimate votes were lost in the 2022 federal election due to SB1's identification

requirements. Similarly, even if one were to assume away the possibility of fraudulent voting,

Professor Hersh's analysis is consistent with the belief that exactly zero votes failed to be cast and

counted because of state voter database issues. As a result, I again conclude that the impact of SB1

on mail-in voting is almost certainly minimal, and very possibly zero.

Respectfully Submitted,

Mark Hoekstra, PhD

M My

#### **CURRICULUM VITAE**

#### Mark Hoekstra

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# **Academic Appointments**

2018 – Present	Professor of Economics
2015 – Present	Private Enterprise Research Center Rex B. Grey Professor of Economics, Texas
	A&M University
2011 - 2018	Associate Professor of Economics, Texas A&M University
2006 - 2011	Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Pittsburgh

# **Research Appointments**

2015 – Present	Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research
2013 – Present	Research Fellow, IZA
2011 - 2015	Faculty Research Fellow, National Bureau of Economic Research

#### **Editorial Positions**

2018 - Present	Associate Editor, Journal of Labor Economics
2015 – Present	Associate Editor, Journal of Human Resources

# Education

Ph.D. Economics, University of Florida, August 2006 Dissertation Advisor: David Figlio

B.A. Economics, Hope College (summa cum laude), June 2001

#### **Research Interests**

Applied Microeconomics, including Labor Economics, Law and Economics, and the Economics of Education

#### **Publications**

"The Effect of Open-Air Waste Burning on Infant Health: Evidence from Government Failure in Lebanon" (with Pierre Mouganie and Ruba Ajeeb), forthcoming in *Journal of Human Resources* 

"The Effect of School and Neighborhood Peers on Achievement, Misbehavior, and Adult Crime" (with Stephen B. Billings), forthcoming in *Journal of Labor Economics* 

"Does Race Matter for Police Use of Force? Evidence from 911 Calls" (with CarlyWill Sloan), *American Economic Review* 2022, 112(3): 827-860.

"The Effect of Own-Gender Jurors on Conviction Rates" (with Brittany Street), *Journal of Law and Economics* 2021, 64(3): 513-537.

- "(Almost) No One Votes Without ID, Even When They Can" (with Vijetha Koppa), *Economics Letters* 2021, 205: 1-3.
- "The Impact of College Diversity on Behavior Toward Minorities" (with Scott E. Carrell and James West), *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 2019, 11(4): 159-182.
- "The Long-Run Effects of Disruptive Peers" (with Elira Kuka and Scott E. Carrell), *American Economic Review* 2018, 108(11): 3377-3415.
- "Peer Quality and the Academic Benefits to Attending Better Schools (with Pierre Mouganie and Yaojing Wang), *Journal of Labor Economics* 2018, 36(4): 841-884.
- "Cash for Corollas: When Stimulus Reduces Spending" (with Steven L. Puller and Jeremy West), *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2017, 9(3): 1 35.
- "Illegal Immigration, State Law, and Deterrence" (with Sandra Orozco-Aleman), *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 2017, 9(2): 228-252.
- "Vehicle Miles (Not) Traveled: Why Fuel Economy Requirements Don't Increase Household Driving" (with Jeremy West, Jonathan Meer, and Steven L. Puller), *Journal of Public Economics* 2017, 145: 65-81.
- "Are School Counselors an Effective Education Input?" (with Scott E. Carrell), *Economics Letters* 2014, 125(1): 66-69.
- "Bank Privatization, Finance, and Growth" (with Daniel Berkowitz and Koen Schoors), *Journal of Development Economics* 2014, 110: 93-106.
- "Does Strengthening Self-Defense Law Deter Crime or Escalate Violence? Evidence from Expansions to Castle Doctrine (with Cheng Cheng) *Journal of Human Resources* 2013, 48(3): 821-854.
- "Family Business or Social Problem? The Cost of Unreported Domestic Violence" (with Scott E. Carrell) *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management* 2012, 31(4): 861-875.
- "Is Poor Fitness Contagious? Evidence from Randomly Assigned Friends" (with Scott E. Carrell and James West) *Journal of Public Economics* 2011, 95(7-8): 657-663.
- "The Ticket to Easy Street? The Financial Consequences of Winning the Lottery" (with Scott Hankins and Paige Marta Skiba) *Review of Economics and Statistics* 2011, 93(3): 961-969.
- "Does Drinking Impair College Performance? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Approach" (with Scott E. Carrell and James West) *Journal of Public Economics* 2011, 95 (1-2): 54-62.
- "Does High School Quality Matter? Evidence from Admissions Data" (with Daniel Berkowitz) *Economics of Education Review* 2011, 30(2): 280-288.
- "Lucky in Life, Unlucky in Love? The Effect of Random Income Shocks on Marriage and Divorce" (with Scott Hankins) *Journal of Human Resources* 2011, 46(2): 403-426.
- "Externalities in the Classroom: How Children Exposed to Domestic Violence Affect Everyone's Kids" (with Scott E. Carrell) *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2010, 2(1): 211-228.
- "The Effect of Attending the Flagship State University on Earnings: A Discontinuity-Based Approach" Review of Economics and Statistics 2009, 91(4): 717-724.

#### **Other Publications**

"Returns to Education Quality". 2020. In Steve Bradley and Colin Green (Eds.), *The Economics of Education:* A Comprehensive Overview, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by Steve Bradley and Colin Green. Elsevier Academic Press.

"Domino Effect" (with Scott E. Carrell). 2009. Education Next: 9(3). Available at <a href="http://www.hoover.org/publications/ednext/Domino Effect.html">http://www.hoover.org/publications/ednext/Domino Effect.html</a>.

# **Working Papers**

"The Scale and Nature of Neighborhood Effects on Children: Evidence from a Danish Social Housing Experiment" (with Stephen B. Billings and Gabriel Pons Rotger)

"Illegal Immigration: The Trump Effect" (with Sandra Orozco-Aleman)

"When Should We Trust Weighted Least Squares Estimates?" (with Cheng Cheng)

#### **Awards**

IZA Young Labor Economist Award, 2012 (with Scott E. Carrell)

## **Teaching Experience**

Texas A&M University:

Sports Economics, Public Economics I (PhD-level), Econometrics II (1st-year PhD), Labor Economics I (2nd-year PhD)

University of Pittsburgh:

Labor Economics (PhD-level), Sports Economics, Intermediate Public Finance, Industrial Organization, and Research Methods in Empirical Microeconomics

University of Florida:

Public Finance and Managerial Economics

# **Department Service**

Executive Committee (Fall 2011 – Fall 2014; Fall 2016 – Spring 2017)

Graduate Instruction Committee (Fall 2012 – Spring 2019)

Director of PhD Admissions (Fall 2012 – Spring 2015; Fall 2018 – Spring 2019; Spring 2023)

Director of PhD Program (Fall 2012 – Fall 2014)

Applied Microeconomics Search Committee (2011-12, 2012-13, 2014-15)

## Primary Dissertation Advisor (Initial Placement, Current Position)

(Non-tenure track positions and co-advisor roles are noted if applicable; excludes committee memberships)

Suhyeon Oh (expected 2025) <u>Maya Mikdash</u> (expected 2024)

<u>Adam Bestenbostel</u> (2022, Air Force Academy, non-tenure-track Assistant Professor) <u>Meradee Tangvatchaparong</u> (2021, 5-year non-tenure-track Assistant Professor, Hitotsubashi

University's Institute of Economic Research))

<u>CarlyWill Sloan</u> (2020, Claremont Graduate University, now at United States Military Academy

West Point)

<u>Brittany Street</u> (2019, University of Missouri) <u>Abigail Peralta</u> (2018, Louisiana State University)

Yaojing Wang
Vijetha Koppa
(2017, Bank of America, co-advised with Li Gan, now at Peking University)
(2016, Stephen F. Austin State University, now at Institute of Management

Technology, Dubai)

<u>Jillian Carr</u> (2015, Purdue University)

<u>Pierre Mouganie</u> (2015, American University of Beirut, now at Simon Fraser University)

<u>Gonzalo Sanchez</u> (2015, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Ecuador) <u>Cheng Cheng</u> (2014, University of Mississippi, now at Amazon)

#### **Presentations**

Essen Health Conference (keynote speaker, scheduled May 2023); Clemson University (November 2022); Berlin Applied Micro Seminar, October 2022; Simon Fraser University, April 2022, Jinan University, October 2021; National University of Singapore, April 2021; University of Florida, April 2021; ASSA American Economic Association Annual Meeting (x2), January 2021; San Diego State University, October 2020; Boston University, September 2020; University of Maryland, September 2020; Notre Dame, September 2020; NBER Summer Institute – Crime, July 2020; Claremont McKenna College, February 2020; Claremont Graduate University, January 2020; American Economic Association Annual Conference, January 2020; Southern Economic Association Annual Conference, November 2019; Victoria University of Wellington Applied Econometrics Workshop, October 2019 (keynote speaker); University of Mississippi, October 2019; Mississippi State University, October 2019; Stata/Texas Applied Microeconomics Conference, October 2019; University of Florida, May 2019; Georgia Tech, March 2019; West Virginia University, March 2018; University of Tennessee, January 2018, Purdue University, January 2018; University of Kentucky, October 2017; Annual Meeting of the Western Economic Association, June 2017; University of Leicester, June 2017; University of Leicester Domestic Violence Workshop, June 2017; American University of Beirut, March 2017; University of Uppsala, March 2017; Montana State University, April 2016; American University of Beirut, March 2016; Columbia University, February 2016; Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association Meeting (January 2016); Annual Meeting of the Southern Economic Association (November 2015); NBER Education Program Meeting (November 2015); Brigham Young University, February, 2015; Federal Reserve Bank of New York, February, 2015; Stata/Texas Applied Microeconomics Conference, November 2014; University of Florida, November, 2014; Louisiana State University, October 2014; Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), October 2014; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, October 2013; Ghent University, September 2013; University of Texas – Dallas, April 2013; Stata/Texas Applied Microeconomics Conference, December 2012; Southern Economic Association Annual Meeting, November 2012; University of Texas-Austin, April 2012; Georgetown Public Policy Institute, April 2012; University of Missouri, October 2011; Baylor University, August 2011; Texas A&M University, November 2010; University of Houston, October 2010; University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, Psychiatry and Epidemiology Seminar, October 2009; NBER Summer Institute, Law and Economics Program, July 2009; University of California at Davis, April 2009; University of California at Berkeley Labor Lunch, March 2009; American Economic Association Annual Meetings, January 2009; Texas A&M University, September 2008; Carnegie Mellon University, September 2008; NBER Summer Institute, Economics of Education Program, July 2008; Society of Labor Economists Annual Meeting, May 2008; Vanderbilt University, April 2008; NBER Education Working Group, November 2006

#### **Other Information**

Referee: American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, American Economic Review, American Journal of Health Economics, American Sociological Review, Berkeley Electronic Press, Contemporary Economic Policy, Economic Development and Cultural Change, Economic Inquiry, Economic Journal, Economics of Transition, Education Economics, Education Finance and Policy, Empirical Economics, European Journal of Law & Economics; Journal of Applied Econometrics, Journal of Comparative Economics, Journal of Demographic Economics, Journal of the European Economic Association, Journal of Health Economics, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Labor Economics, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Population Economics, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Sports Economics, Journal of Urban Economics, Labour Economics, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS), Quantitative Finance, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Regional Science and Urban Economics, Review of Economics and the Household, Review of Economics and Statistics, and Southern Economic Journal.

Reviewer: Israel Science Foundation, National Science Foundation, Marsden Fund (New Zealand), Dutch Research Council

Citizenship: United States

# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

**APPENDIX M** 



# In The Matter Of

La Union Del Pueblo Entero, et al.,

**Plaintiffs** 

ν

State Of Texas, et al.,

**Defendants** 

CASE

5:21-cv-844

Date

4-28-2022

Witness

Brian Keith Ingram, J.D.

Certified Copy Transcript

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# **Entero v Texas**

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2 voters in a significant way? A. I don't know, but I was glad for the opportunity to talk to the reporter to disabuse folks of 5 those notions if I could.

Q. Okay. And had those concerns taken hold among

- 6 Q. Were there any groups of voters that you 7 observed in your role who were exhibiting concerns about voting by mail?
- A. I had a friend of mine who was asking me 10 questions about voting by mail and whether it was safe and I referred him to that article.
- 12 Q. Anyone else?

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- A. Can't think of anybody.
- Q. Prior to the 2020 election, what were the
- 15 built-in security checks for Texas's mail ballot system?
- A. The -- well, you've got an application for 17 ballot by mail, the application goes through the process of making sure that that voter is actually registered 19 and that the address listed is the address on file for 20 that voter, if not, then a -- with the balloting 21 materials they are going to give a statement of 22 residence, and so you get the application with the 23 signature and then, of course, you get the carrier envelope and it is put in a jacket envelope with the 25 application so that all of that material is kept

Q. Okay. And then prior to the 2020 election, why 2 did you describe that complete set of built-in security checks as robust?

A. Well, because -- well, there is not -- I mean 5 there were also the ballot -- the ballot has a serial number, the -- so you know what ballot went to which 7 voter so, you know, you can -- you can keep track of things in a way that you don't have to worry about extraneous votes coming in or somebody voting by mail 10 that shouldn't be.

Q. And put together, you considered all those security checks to be robust?

A. Sure.

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MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

Q. Did concerns about the mail ballot system persist after the 2020 general election?

A. They did.

18 Q. And why do you think that was? 19 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Lack of 20 personal knowledge.

A. Yeah. I don't know.

22 Q. On the basis of your personal knowledge as the Chief Elections Administrator for the State of Texas, 24 what was your understanding, if you understood that 25 there were these concerns, why those concerns persisted?

Page 18

MS. HUNKER: Same objection.

Page 20

- A. I don't know why the concerns persist, that's a very difficult question to answer.
- Q. Are there individuals who continue to advance messaging contrary to your messaging that the security checks are not robust?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Vaque, lack of personal knowledge. 8

- A. Yeah. There are people out there in the world who want to cast doubt on the legitimacy of our electoral system, our electoral processes.
- Q. Are you aware of any fraud concerning mail 13 ballots in Texas at a scale that could impact statewide contests?

15 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Lack of 16 foundation. Lack of personal knowledge.

- A. Yeah. Not in a scale that could impact the statewide election, but they definitely -- there is definitely fraud that impacts local elections and changes outcomes.
- 21 Q. Are you aware of any fraud concerning mail 22 ballots in Texas at a scale that could impact a state 23 24

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

A. Like I said, I am not aware of mail ballot

1 together. I mean there was -- there was, apparently, a 2 belief that you could just have ballots come in from 3 anywhere, you know, you could just get your mail ballot, 4 have it photocopied and 15 people could send in a 5 ballot. Well, that's not the way it works; you have got 6 an application that goes with the ballot, so it is an one-to-one ratio. And then, of course, they do the 8 signature checks and they make sure that the carrier 9 envelope is filled out properly, if there is an 10 assistant, and then the ballot is not counted unless 11 those things are approved by the Ballot Board. And if

- 13 needs further confirmation that the signatures are those 14 of the voter, they can look at any signatures on file
- 15 for the last six years to either confirm that it is the 16 voter or to confirm that it is not the voter and it
- 17 works both ways, but anyway, they can use any signature

12 the Ballot Board or the Signature Verification Committee

- 18 from the voter registration file or any election files. 19 So any previous applications for ballot by mail or voter
- 20 registration application, all of those signatures are 21 available for comparison to identify the voter, and so
- 22 that's -- those were the measures that were in place at 23 that time.
- 2.4 Q. That's the complete set, just to be clear?
- A. That's right.

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# **Entero v Texas**

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Page 22

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6 (21 - 24)

Page 23

Page 21 1 fraud at a scale that could impact a statewide race so 2 far. Now, if we have a close statewide race then 3 obviously we could. But so far, since I have been in 4 this job for the last 10 years the only -- the closest 5 race was 200,000 statewide, so I guess the Land 6 Commission at one time or the Comptroller was a little 7 closer to that on the primary, but anyway, no, the mail 8 ballot fraud that we see affects the local races 9 primarily. 10 Q. Okay. And I apologize if I was unclear. I had 11

meant a race for the Texas Senate not the U.S. Senate.  $^{12}|\mathrm{I}$  was trying to -- trying to get a little smaller, but I 13 think that your answer was clear, so thank you for that.

Did the 2020 election reveal any systemic 15 fraud concerning mail ballots in Texas?

#### A. Not anymore than any other election, no.

Q. Let me repeat myself and try and be a little 18 clearer. Did the 2020 election reveal any broad 19 systemic statewide fraud concerning mail ballots in 20 Texas?

#### A. No.

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22 Q. Did the rate of fraud concerning mail ballots <sup>23</sup> in Texas increase, to your knowledge, during the 2020 24 election?

#### A. Not that I know of.

Q. Were concerns about the mail ballot system that 2 we have discussed based in fact? MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague.

#### A. There is definitely --

MS. HUNKER: Compound question and lack of 6 personal knowledge.

Q. Yeah. You may answer.

A. There is definitely a well-founded concern 9 about the mail ballot process, yes. There are well-founded concerns that predated 2020 that -- that persist.

Q. Were concerns about the magnitude of fraud within the mail ballot system based in fact?

14 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague, lack 15 of personal knowledge.

Q. You can answer.

#### A. Yeah, I don't know what that means.

Q. Were -- let me try and rephrase that. Were 19 concerns of which you were aware among voters about the scale or magnitude of fraud in the mail ballot system in Texas based in fact during the 2020 election?

22 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague, 23 compound, lack of personal knowledge.

Q. You may answer.

A. Except for I can't. I don't how to answer that

#### auestion.

Q. If a voter were to have walked up to you prior 3 to the 2020 election and said, "I am concerned that 4 there is so much fraud in mail ballots that it is going 5 to change the outcome of the presidential election, would you consider those concerns to be based on facts 7 about the mail ballot system in Texas?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Improper

10 A. Yeah, I would have to ask -- I would have to 11 ask them what specifically their concerns were and how specifically they thought the mail ballot process was capable of being manipulated to that extent. I would 14 need to know what their fear was to know how I could 15 disabuse them of it, if I could.

16 Q. Okay. We can move on. I would like to move to 17 your legislative testimony. In March of 2021, did you testify to the Texas House Committee on Elections that Texas elections are in good shape?

#### A. I did.

21 Q. What did you mean by "good shape"?

A. I meant that -- that generally the election framework is working the way it is supposed to. The county election officials are doing their job properly 25 and that the Texas elections are in good shape.

Page 24 O. Anything else?

#### A. That's it.

Q. When you said that Texas elections are in good 4 shape, did that reflect on the security of Texas elections?

#### A. Partly.

Q. Would you -- is an election that is in good shape free and fair? 8

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague.

#### 10 A. I agree. Texas always has free and fair 11 elections.

Q. Okay. And you also -- am I correct that you 13 testified with respect to the 2020 presidential election 14 that, in spite of all the circumstances, Texas had an election that was smooth and secure?

A. That's not the entire context of that quote. The point is that, we were trying to pat the county election officials on the back for having a successful election in a pandemic. So people have taken that quote out of context and made a drinking game out of it, but that's not all I said in that sentence, and it is certainly not consistent with the example that I gave which was how my personal election administrator reconfigured my particular polling place to make it safe 25 for activities so that the voters and the workers were

6 (21 - 24) Brian Keith Ingram JD

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# Entero v Texas

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25 (97 - 100)

Page 97 Page 99 A. It was consistent --1 1 A. I don't know. 2 2 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Lack of A. -- with the law and what was required at that personal knowledge. 4 time. The Legislature now requires a number be provided Q. Do you know if it is easier for a nursing home 5 as well resident -- strike that. Q. Okay. Do you know if family members tend to 6 6 Do you know if it's easier for a nursing 7 have access to each other's driver's license numbers or home provider to put a resident's Texas driver's license social security numbers? or social security number on an ABBM than it is for the 9 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. nursing home provider to forge a resident's signature? 10 10 A. And like I said in my earlier answer, this idea MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Vague, 11 11 of requesting mail ballots in the name of somebody else compound. Calls for information that's not personal 12 was a live issue and very much on the minds of the 12 knowledge. 13 Elections Committee as they were working. 13 Q. If you know. 14 Q. Okay. Do you happen to know if family members 14 A. Yeah, I don't have any idea. 15 15 tend to have access to each's other's drivers license Q. Okay. Are you aware of any instances in which 16 16 numbers or social security numbers? an individual intended or attempted to impersonate a 17 A. I don't know. 17 mail voter as worded by this SB 1 identification number 18 Q. Have you ever submitted a joint tax return with requirement? 19 a family member? 19 A. I don't know. Just had one election so far. 20 20 A. I have a wife that I do joint returns with, Q. Sitting here today, though, you can't say that 21 21 you're aware of any acts of voter fraud being thwarted ves. 22 Q. And do you know if your wife's social security 22 by this requirement; is that right? 23 23 number is on your tax return? MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 24 A. It is. 24 A. Well, what I know is that, we have had 25 25 Q. And so would it be possible for you to request testimony in committees on this bill about deceased Page 98 1 an absentee ballot on your wife's behalf using the persons, you know, who have mail ballot request in their social security number that's on your tax returns? name years after they have died. 3 3 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. We also had testimony about people who had 4 A. I could. mail ballot requests in their name even though they Q. Would you say that it is easier or harder for a didn't, they swore under oath that they didn't request 6 family member to provide a Texas driver's license number 6 that mail ballot, and that wasn't their signature; so or social security number than it is for a family member that was the testimony in front of the Legislature at to forge a signature of another voter? the committees. And that's what this is trying to stop. 8 9 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Lack of Now we don't know, yet, whether those kinds of things 10 10 personal knowledge. continued. That's going to be something we will have to 11 11 Q. If you know. see as upcoming elections happen and people do their due 12 A. And again, I don't know. 12 diligence and their investigations. 13 13 Q. Well, could you forge your wife's signature, do Q. But sitting here right now, you are not able to 14 14 you think? identify any instances in which these requirements 15 A. I don't know, never tried. 15 awarded an act of voter fraud; is that right? 16 Q. Fair enough. 16 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 17 17 A. I can't imagine a set of circumstances where I A. What I am trying to say is that, the evidence 18 would. 18 in front of the Legislature in committee was that there 19 19 are circumstances that exist where this kind of Q. Do you think sitting here today that you could create a facsimile of your wife's signature? 20 requirement could thwart, and that's what we have got 20 21 A. I don't know. 21 right now. We don't have actual thwarted. 22 22 O. Got it. I won't make you try, tempted but I won't. 23 23 Do caregivers tend to have access to MS. HUNKER: Just ask my client to wait 24 senior citizen's driver's license numbers or social 24 until I can give my objection.

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25 security numbers?

4/28/2022

**Entero v Texas** 

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A. Sorry. I'm trying real hard.

# **Entero v Texas**

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26 (101 - 104)

Page 101 Q. I have a few follow-up questions about the form A. Because we get -- we get a lot of information 2 of identification hierarchy as you discussed with my 2 from DPS from a lot of ways, and so I just want to make 3 colleague, Mike, on Tuesday. I am not going to ask you sure we are talking about the same thing. If we are 4 to run through all of it. But if you could turn to 4 talking about the ad hoc process, is that what you're 5 Section 5.02 of SB 1. Are you there? 5 talking about? 6 A. Uh-huh. Q. Well, let me rephrase if it is not clear to Q. Just focusing on Section 5.02. For a voter who you. And I appreciate you letting me know. has been issued a Texas driver's license number, what A. Because 2512 covers the non-citizen process, it information does Section 5.02 require? covers felons, you know, it is information that DPS has 10 10 that we can use. MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Calls for a 11 11 legal conclusion. Q. Prior to last year, what was the process for 12 12 importing either social security numbers or DPS numbers A. So it requires that the voter provide their 13 driver's license number or their social security number, into TEAM from DPS databases? 14 last four, or a statement that they don't have either 14 A. So is what we instituted after the passage of 15 HB 2512 is an annual process where we would try to 15 one of those. 16 maximize the number of full nines that we have in our 16 Q. But for a voter who has been issued a Texas 17 driver's license number does 5.02 require anything 17 database, full nine of social security number in our different than the Texas driver's license number? 18 database. 19 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 19 Q. And prior to last year, am I correct that a 20 20 match as part of that process required a match of Texas A. It does not. 21 Q. Does it require anything else besides the Texas 21 driver's license numbers that any sort of set of 22 driver's license number? 22 matching criteria at least included a Texas driver's 23 A. There is no requirement for anything further. license number? 24 We suggest and we strongly suggest that they go ahead 24 A. I don't believe that's the case, no, sir. 25 and put the last four of the social. 25 Q. Do you know, prior to last year, that process Page 104 Page 102 1 of infilling SSN-9s, do you know what the criteria were? Q. My question, though, is the ballot --2 A. We cannot require it because the law doesn't A. Well, I mean it's the same as we always do. 3 You start out with matching social security numbers, 3 require it. 4 take those off the list, then you match the DLs and take Q. And focusing on Section 5.08 of SB 1, for a 5 voter who -- for a voter who has been issued a Texas those off the list, and then you match the first and 6 driver's license number, what information does 6 last name, former last name, date of birth, and whatever Section 5.08 of SB 1 require? you got and see if you get more matches. 8 A. It requires the driver's license number. Q. So sitting here today, prior to last year, it is your understanding that there were matches conducted Q. Okay. I would like to turn then to the HB 2512 10

process.

A. Okay.

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Q. When I use the term HB 2512 process, what does 13 that mean?

A. There was a bill in the 83rd Session, I believe 15 it is, in 2013, that was HB 2512, and it provided that 16 any information in the driver's license file could be 17 used for voter registration purposes; it amended the 18 Transportation Code to provide for us to have 19 information in the driver's license file to assist with voter registration.

21 Q. Prior to last year, how did you go about 22 importing DPS data into TEAM? What was that process?

A. I don't know what that means.

Q. Prior to last year, what was the HB 2512 25 process?

on a basis that did not include a Texas driver's license number that resulted in the implication of an SSN-9?

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MR. FREEMAN: Can we go off the record for 14 a moment?

(Brief pause.)

16 Q. (By Mr. Freeman) If there were a document that 17 stated that, prior to last year, the criteria for 18 importation of an SSN-9 rested on only two document 19 match criteria, both of which included a Texas driver's 20 license number, would that surprise you?

A. I would have to go talk to my voter 22 registration manager and see if that's the way they did 23 it.

24 Q. So sitting here today, are you 100 percent 25 confident that SSN-9s were imported without a driver's

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Page 151 Page 149 A. Yes. 1 speaking over you. Q. Is that a document that, to your knowledge, has 2 Any other information that you could think 3 been produced to the plaintiffs in discovery in this of that might be captured on that document? 4 A. Like I said, I don't know. I haven't seen the 5 document myself. I think those are the categories. 5 A. I would be surprised if it had. It has Q. Having never seen the document, do you have any 6 confidential information in it, but it might. 6 Q. So if I were to use the term "complaint log" 7 information about whether it is in fact complete with would that have a specific meaning to the folks in your every complaint that has come in or not? 9 office? 9 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 10 10 A. It would. A. I believe it to be complete at least for the 11 11 Q. And is there only one complaint log that is last several years. It has in the past been the 12 kept by your office? 12 responsibility of the legal -- paralegal, legal 13 assistant to keep up with that document. Our legal A. Should be. 14 Q. How is that document updated? assistant recently left us and so it's -- my assistant 15 15 has been doing it. And I am pretty confident that the By my assistant when the complaints come in. 16 legal assistants that we have had in the last four or 16 Q. And so walk me through that process if you 17 would, please. 17 five years have done a good job of documenting every 18 A. A complaint comes in, it is recorded in the 18 complaint, so that's what I would say about that. 19 complaint log, it is scanned and emailed to me for 19 Q. And so sitting here today, you have reason to 20 believe that if a complaint is submitted to your office 20 review. 21 Q. And do you review every complaint that does 21 about some unlawful voting activity, the -- that 22 come in? 22 complaint has been recorded on the complaint log and a 23 23 A. I do. scan of it has been saved to your system; is that fair? 24 Q. What happens after you conduct that review? 24 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 25 25 Either a disposition letter will be put A. I believe so. Page 152 1 together by my assistant and mailed to the complainant Q. Ms. Hunker, a this point, I do believe the 2 or it will be assigned to an attorney for either 2 witness testified he would be surprised if it were 3 referral to the Attorney General or for a letter back to 3 produced in discovery. I will make a formal request 4 that we do obtain a copy of that and your office try to 4 the complainant. Q. Who makes the decision, the ultimate decision produce it to us. I recognize that there might be, 6 about whether it is issued a -- whether a disposition 6 based on the witness' testimony, some material that will letter is issued or if it is referred it an attorney for require redaction. But we, obviously, take no position until we have seen it. But if you have to produce it in 8 further follow-up? 8 9 A. Me. 9 a redacted form of the privilege log, please do so. 10 10 Q. Anybody else? MS. HUNKER: I will note your request and 11 11 do inquiries into the matter. However, to the extent A. No. 12 12 that it has confidential information, particularly, if Q. What type of information would appear on the 13 complaint log for each complaint that is sent in to your 13 that information cannot be redacted without comprising 14 14 office? the document or can't be redacted at all, we would be 15 A. I am not sure. I haven't ever seen the 15 alleging privilege. 16 document myself, so I don't know all of the boxes that 16 MR. KANTERMAN: Noted and certainly happy 17 it has, but it will have -- generally, it will have the to follow-up after the deposition. I certainly 17 18 date the complaint was received, the nat -- the broad 18 appreciate the courtesy of taking a look though. Thank 19 19 general nature description of the complaint. The person you. 20 20 bringing the complaint and I think usually the person Q. (By Mr. Kanterman) Mr. Ingram, moving on to my

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21 complained of. It will also have --

A. -- a column for attorney assigned and then

Q. Thank you. And forgive me, please, for

Q. Any others?

disposition.

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25 voting?

next lines of questions if we could.

Did you or your office have any 23 communications with the Texas Governor and/or the Office

24 of the Texas Governor regarding any incidents of illegal

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Page 153 Page 155 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Vague and Q. Did you have any additional communications with ambiguous. 2 the Texas Governor or his office about violations of 3 Texas election laws besides those we have already A. Yeah. I don't think so. Q. Have you or your office have had any discussed? 5 5 communication was the Texas Governor or its office MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Asked and regarding incidents of election fraud? 6 6 answered. MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague. A. Yeah. Again, I -- I can't remember any A. Yeah, I -- I don't know. I mean -- I have had specific conversations, but we talk a lot and we talk a ton of conversations with the Governor's office over about violations of the law a lot. We talk about all 10 kinds of things. 10 the last 10 years, I don't know, thousands of hours; so have we talked about incidents of election fraud in that 11 11 Q. Have you had any communications with the Texas 12 probably. Probably we talked about Gregg County, but I 12 Attorney General or his office regarding incident of or don't have a specific recollection of the specific 13 13 investigation into illegal voting in the State of Texas? 14 conversation as we sit here today. 14 MS. HUNKER: I am going to object to the 15 15 Q. And you said a conversation -- particularly a extent this calls for investigative privilege and 16 16 conversation with Gregg County? instruct my witness not to reveal any information 17 A. Gregg County, right. 17 concerning complaints that have been referred to the OAG 18 Q. If you have a memory of that communication 18 but have yet to be resolved through a final matter. 19 generally, what would it have been? 19 A. Yes. I talk to the Attorney General's 20 investigative team on a regular basis. 20 A. Well, Gregg County is a circumstance where in a 21 primary election one candidate for County Commissioner, 21 Q. And, sir, I am not asking you for specifics of 22 one race for County Commissioner had a disproportionate 22 any individual circumstances at the moment, generally, 23 number of mail ballots cast in it and those mail ballots what are those conversations about? 24 went overwhelmingly for one candidate. The early votes 24 MS. HUNKER: Same objection with the same 25 in-person and the election day in-person actually went 25 advice that my witness not communicate anything specific  $^{1}$  for the other candidate by some margin. But because of Page 156 1 with respect to a complaint that has been referred to 2 the overwhelming number of mail ballots that went 2 the Attorney General but has yet to be resolved through overwhelmingly for the one candidate, he ended up every conviction or dismissal. winning the race by a few votes, and that has been the A. Yeah. We talk about a lot of stuff. I mean, 5 subject of investigation by the Attorney General and it we talk about complaints that we have sent over. We 6 has been the subject of indictments by the Attorney 6 talk about the language of the statute and what we think General. it means versus what they think it means. We talk about bills that get filed in the legislative process, so I 8 Q. And do you have any recollection sitting here 8 9 today the particulars of the conversations you had with mean, we talk to them about a variety of things. 10 the Governor's office about that situation? 10 Q. But two of those items that you just mentioned 11 A. Just what we are talking about here today that I wanted to discuss a little bit further. If I heard 12 it happened and it was investigated. 12 you correctly, first, that you discussed with the 13 Q. You mentioned you had thousands of hours of 13 Attorney General's Office your interpretation and their 14 interpretation of certain provisions of the law; is that 14 communications with the Governor's office over your --15 the course of your time with the Secretary of State's 15 right? 16 Office; is that right? 16 A. That's right. 17 17 A. That's right. Q. Have you discussed with the Attorney General's 18 Q. Are those conversations generally in written 18 Office your interpretation and their interpretation of 19 provisions of SB 1. 19 form in some other form? 20 20 A. No. We talk. MS. HUNKER: Objection to the extent it 21 Q. When you say "talk," are those in-person 21 calls for investigative privilege as well as 22 communications, telephone communications or something 22 attorney-client privilege, specifically where the 23 else? 23 Secretary of State's Office is requesting advice from 2.4 24 the Attorney General, I would advise my client to A. Both. Mostly on the phone but we do talk 25 in-person. refrain from any of those type of communications.

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1	<b>A. No.</b>	1	MR. THOMPSON: Will Thompson from the
2	Q. Sir, when you are discussing when you are	2	Office of the Attorney General.
3	having these conversations with the Attorney General's	3	THE REPORTER: Okay. We are ready to go
4	Office that you mentioned, those in which they are	4	back, Mr. Kanterman.
5	seeking your input on the interpretation of statutory	5	MR. FREEMAN: Actually if we could go off
6	language and you are discussing their interpretation,	6	the record for a moment.
7	are you doing so in furtherance of seeking their legal	7	MR. KANTERMAN: Thank you very much.
8	advice?	8	THE REPORTER: Can we go off the record
9	A. No. The one instance I can think of, it was	9	for a moment?
10	them explaining to me their interpretation of the Penal	10	MR. KANTERMAN: Absolutely. Off the
11	Code 36.02 so that I would quit sending them complaints	11	record, please.
12	that they didn't think warranted investigation.	12	(Brief recess.)
13	Q. And in your view was that conversation in	13	MR. KANTERMAN: Thank you. Just to be
14	furtherance of seeking or receiving legal advice from	14	clear on the record, if I can. The last answer, I
15	them?	15	believe the witness said was in response to my question
16	A. No.	16	about who attended a phone call, is that has that
17	Q. Let's talk about let's talk about the scope	17	been recorded?
18	of that conversation then. And can you repeat for me,	18	THE REPORTER: Yes, sir.
19	please, the code section you just referred to, 38?	19	MR. KANTERMAN: Thank you very much.
20	A. 36.02 of the Penal Code.	20	Q. (BY Mr. Kanterman) Other than yourself and
21	Q. And was it just a single conversation that you	21	Mr. White, Mr. Ingram, was there anyone else present on
22	can recall at the Attorney General's Office in which you	22	that phone call?
	discuss their interpretation of Section 36.02 of the	23	
	Penal Code?	24	
25		25	
1	Q. And when was that conversation?	1	Q. And tell me what it was, please.
2	A. Several years ago.	2	A. So 36.02 is the anti-bribery statute, and it
3	Q. Do you have a more specific approximation of a	3	says that that the crime consists of giving anything
4	date?	4	of value to, in part, there is a lot of categories, but
5	A. No.	5	one of the categories is a voter for that that you
6	Q. Would it be before or after 2020?	6	anticipate influencing the voter's discretion in any
7	A. It would be before '20. Several years ago, it	7	way, right. So to us at the Secretary of State's
8	was before '20.	8	Office, that means the decision whether to vote or not
9	Q. Do you think it was before 2018?	9	is part of the discretion of a voter. And if somebody
10	A. Don't know.	10	gives, you know, like Free Blue Jean Day on Friday, if
11	Q. Was this a conversation you had in-person, over	11	we all have 100 percent turn out and vote, that to us
12	the telephone, by email or some other through some	12	would be a violation of 36.02 because you're influencing
13	other media?	13	the discretion of a voter to turn out to actually vote
14	A. It was a phone call.	14	or not.
15	Q. And approximately how long did that phone call	15	
16	last?	16	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
17	, , ,	17	
18	q december and priorite sail, ii you	18	and the parameter of th
	recall?	19	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
20		20	3 , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
21		21	,
	someone come in the room.		to constitute the crime; that there has been to be an
1 7 7	Q. Anybody else?	23	actual influencing of the voter's vote itself not their
23			
24		24 25	decision to vote or not. I still think he is

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Page 179 A. I don't know. The Forensic Audit Division is 1 A. Oh, another one, too. 2 doing that process. I assume it is four separate audits 2 O. -- remind me of that? A. Yeah, Weslaco Independent School District's but you would have to ask the FAD. Q. And to your understanding, this audit or these 4 Trustee race, and then a Justice of the Peace Court race 5 audits remain ongoing; is that right? 5 in South Dallas County. Q. Yeah. And so turning back to the Weslaco 6 A. That's correct. Q. Has your office received any final 7 Independent School District race election, what year was determinations or information from which it could draw 8 that? 9 final conclusions about the outcome of these audits? 9 A. I don't know for sure. It was older, maybe 10 10 2013 or 2014, maybe 2012. A. No. 11 11 Q. When do you anticipate, if ever, that you will Q. And the Justice of the Peace race, I believe 12 receive such information? 12 you said in South Dallas County, when was that election? 13 13 A. I don't know. A. I don't know for sure, it was before I got here 14 Q. Based on your experience with the Secretary of 14 in January of '12, so it was sometime before then. 15 Prosecutions were well underway. 15 State's Office, do you believe that illegal voting has 16 had an outcome determinative impact on any election in 16 Q. And so let's work through each of these. The 17 Texas? 17 County Commissioner election in Gregg County in what may 18 A. Yes. be March of 2018, why do you believe illegal voting had 19 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 19 an outcome determinative impact on that election? 20 20 A. Because it did. Q. I am sorry. I didn't hear the witness' answer. 21 21 A. Yes. Q. And what's your basis for that? 22 Q. What election do you believe that illegal 22 A. I told you before, the ballot harvesting

A. Well, there is several of them, but at least 25 that County Commissioner's primary in Gregg County.

Q. And in what year is the Gregg County County 2 Commissioner election that you are referring to?

voting had an outcome determinative impact in?

A. I believe it was in March of '18, but I could 4 be wrong about that.

Q. And I believe you said there are several, what 6 other elections other than the County Commissioner election in Gregg County, possibly in March of 2018, do 8 you believe illegal voting has an outcome determinative 9 impact on?

10 A. The City of Edinburg mayor's race. Weslaco 11 Independent School District's Trustee race. Maybe 12 Sheriff in Webb County.

13 Q. So that -- I am missing one, forgive me. 14 Sheriff in Webb County. In what year are we referring 15 to?

16 A. The same year as the Gregg County -- it was the 17 same election primary of '18.

Q. And was the city of -- there was a city school 19 district election you mentioned, correct?

A. That's right. Mayor of Edinburg. And Weslaco.

21 Q. And what year was that election?

A. I don't know, maybe November of '18.

O. I believe you mentioned one other election with 24 the same thing, illegal voting had an outcome 25 determinative impact on, sir. Can you --

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Page 180 election. The mail ballots in that race were predominantly in favor of one candidate. The votes 3 in-person were in favor of the other candidate, but the 4 huge number of mail ballots in that race swung the election by a few votes to the one who was indicted and 6 charged with ballot harvesting.

that County Commissioner's race which was substantially

operation resulted in, I think, 700 mail ballots for

25 more than any other commissioner's race in that same

Q. And who was the one indicted with ballot 8 harvesting?

A. I don't know his name. You can look in the newspaper, it is out there.

Q. Do you know whether that individual was 12 ultimately convicted or otherwise pled guilty to a 13 criminal offense?

A. I do not.

Q. Is the only basis that you're offering for your 16 conclusion that the Gregg County race in 2018 had been impacted by illegal voting -- let me ask it differently.

Other than the allegation of ballot harvesting in the March 2018 Gregg County election that we are discussing, do you have any other basis upon which you rested your conclusion that illegal voting had an outcome determinative impact on an election?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

A. Yeah. I don't know what you mean.

Q. What I am trying to understand, and hopefully

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this will help clarify is: Why do you think that 2 illegal voting had an outcome determinative impact on the Gregg County election in March of 2018?

You mentioned to me that there was a 5 ballot harvesting incident and that charges were brought 6 against an individual; is that right?

#### A. There were charges brought against four 8 individuals.

9 Q. And are you aware of whether any of those four 10 individuals had pled guilty or been convicted of ballot 11 harvesting or another crime?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Asked and answered.

#### A. Yeah, I don't know.

Q. And so other than the fact that four 16 individuals were indicted based upon alleged crimes that 17 had occurred relating to ballot harvesting, do you have 18 any other basis for concluding that illegal voting had 19 an outcome determinative impact on the Gregg County 20 election in March of 2018?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, vague, 22 ambiguous.

A. I don't know why you're even asking that 24 question. That's kind of ludicrous. Other than, you 25 know, the crime occurring and causing the outcome is

1 there any other evidence? No. The crime that occurred and caused the outcome is all the evidence, that's all I need.

What are you asking? Why are you even asking that? That makes 6 no sense.

Q. And so is it fair to say that if none of the 8 four individuals who were indicted with criminal -- let 9 me step back.

Is it fair to say that, if neither -- if 11 none of the four individuals that were indicted with 12 ballot harvesting in relation to the Gregg County, March 13 2018 election were either -- were ever convicted or 14 found guilty, that there was, in fact, no proof that 15 illegal voting activities had an outcome determinative 16 impact on the Gregg County election?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Ambiguous, 18 vague, compound, and misstates testimony.

# A. Yeah, of course not. Don't need a conviction 20 to know what happened.

21 Q. Let's move on to the Mayor of Edinburg March --22 maybe November 2018 election. What is your basis for 23 concluding that illegal voting had an outcome 24 determinative impact on that election?

A. Because the Mayor and his wife were indicted in

1 an illegal voting scheme, along with several other 2 individuals, and the race margin was close.

Q. Do you know if any of the individuals indicted for activity relating to the Mayor of Edinburg election 5 were ever convicted or found guilty of voting rights?

A. I don't know. I don't know what the outcome 7 was. I think it is still pending. I thought of another election. There was a road utility district election down in Montgomery County that was affected by and swayed by fraud, illegal voting.

Q. Thank you for that clarification. And when was 12 that utility election in Montgomery County that you 13 know?

# A. It was a while back. It would have been maybe '12 or '13, maybe '14.

16 Q. So let me ask you this: I believe you have 17 listed six elections in Texas that you think have been influenced in an outcome determining fashion by illegal voting in Texas. Other than those six, can you think of 20 any others as you sit here today?

A. I can't as I sit here right now, but I could 22 maybe given time. I just -- I don't know off the top of 23 my head.

O. Let's return to the Mayor of Edinburg election we were just talking about, which you say might have

1 been in November of 2018. If I recall, sir, it was 2 that -- a number of individuals had been indicted but

3 you were unsure whether any of them had been convicted

4 or found guilty of any election-related crime; is that 5 riaht?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

#### A. That's right.

Q. If you learned that none of those individuals 8

were found guilty of or ultimately convicted of

election-related crimes, would that alter your

conclusion that the Edinburg Mayor election, in November

12 of 2018, had been influenced in an outcome determinative

13 fashion by illegal voting?

#### A. No.

Q. Why not?

16 A. Because it doesn't matter. Whether or not 17 there is ultimately a conviction doesn't matter. I saw 18 the evidence. I referred the complaint. There was 19

fraud. There was illegal voting.

20 Q. So it is your testimony that a fact finder 21 ultimately concludes there was no fraud as presented.

A. That's not --

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

A. That's not what a -- that's not what a failure 25 to convict means. That's not at all what a failure to

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# **Entero v Texas**

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Page 185 convict means. A failure to convict means that they 2 didn't carry their burden of proof by beyond a reasonable doubt, it doesn't mean that they were 4 actually innocent. Doesn't mean they are innocent at 5 all. Q. I am sorry. I heard something. I just want to

- 7 make sure that I should continue and there is no reason to stop?
  - A. Everything is fine. We got a thumbs up.
- Okay. Thank you very much. Turning next, sir, to the Webb County 12 Sheriff's election in March of 2018.
  - A. That one --

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- Q. What is your basis in that regard?
- A. I had a long conversation with Senator 16 Zaffirini, she was convinced and, therefore, I was 17 convinced, I don't believe any criminal charges were ever brought in connection with that matter, but it was 19 a similar kind of scheme to the one in Gregg County in 20 that Commissioner's race where the mail ballots were heavily one way and a lot more of them than normal.
- Q. You would agree with me, wouldn't you, that increased number of mail ballots in a particular 24 election does not necessarily yield a conclusion that <sup>25</sup> fraud or illegal voting has occurred; is that right?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

A. Not necessarily, but whenever the disproportionate number also is matched by a disproportionate proportion in favor of one candidate over another and that disproportionate sort of 6 favoritism for that candidate isn't reflected in the in-person votes, that leads a reasonable person to 8 believe that fraud is occurring.

Q. Let's turn next to the Weslaco Independent 10 School District election in what I think you said might 11 have been on or before 2017. What basis do you have for 12 concluding that that election was influenced in an 13 outcome determinative fashion by illegal voting?

A. There were a couple of PolitiCares who were convicted of ballot harvesting in that case and, 15 16 unfortunately, the Trustee who was elected eventually 17 committed suicide.

Q. Any other reasons for your conclusion that that 19 race was outcome determinatively impacted by illegal 20 voting?

A. No. That's it.

21 22 Q. You mentioned next the Justice of the Peace 23 race in South Dallas County which might have been before 24 January of 2012. Do you remember that? A. It was definitely before January of 2012.

Q. And what's your basis that that election was 2 influenced in an outcome determinative way by illegal 3 voting?

A. The Justice of the Peace who was elected and 5 several of his family members were charged with and convicted of crimes including illegal voting and mail ballot harvesting.

Q. And so I recognize you say they were convicted. But I guess my question is a little bit more specific, which is, whether or not those convictions reflect an 11 outcome determinative impact on the election?

Do you have any more specific reason to conclude that the acts of these individuals had an outcome determinative impact on that election?

A. No. It was before my time, and I didn't refer 16 that complaint, so I don't have any more details other than what was in the newspaper.

18 Q. So I am actually going to circle back briefly 19 for a moment. So the Gregg County election that we 20 talked about in March of 2018, you said that there were 21 some, in your view, ballot harvesting activities.

What basis do you have for concluding that those activities had an outcome determinative impact on the election?

A. Have I not said this twice already?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Asked and answered

A. Yeah. I am not going over that again.

Q. Are you refusing to answer the question, sir?

5 A. I have answered the question twice already in 6 detail.

Q. If you would just indulge me then and forgive my possible repetition. What is the outcome deter -what is the basis of that impact was outcome determinative of that election?

24 elections you pointed to. I think you said it was road

utility in Montgomery County sometime between 2012 and

A. For the third time, here we go. There were a disproportionate number of mail ballots in that race. There was something over 700 instead of the 120 or so that were in the other County Commissioner Court races, so seven times as many mail ballots. They were disproportionately 80/20, 85/15 for one candidate over the other. Their early votes in-person -- the election day votes in-person went for the other candidate, but the margin built up in the mail ballots was such a degree that it flipped the race for the one who was getting the disproportionate number of mail ballots by a 22 few votes. It was a close election. Q. Okay. Thank you. Let's go to the last of the

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Page 189 2014. Do I have that right? Q. Of the somewhere between 50 and 100 complaints, A. You do. 2 have any been referred to the Attorney General's Office for further investigation? Q. And what is your basis for concluding that that 4 election was impacted in an outcome determinative A. Yes. 5 fashion by illegal voting? 5 Q. Do you know how many? A. Well, the road utility district had only two or A. Oh, you're talking about complaints about poll 6 7 three registered voters in the whole district, and so 7 watchers, no. Complaints about election officials what a group of Montgomery County folks decided to do is obstructing poll watchers, yes. register to vote at a Roadway Inn and run for office in Q. And so the "no" is modifying your last answer. 10 You have not referred any complaint about the behavior 10 that road utility district so that they could influence the letting of bonds; and so they -- they did that, the 11 of poll watchers to the Attorney General's Office for 11 12 ten of them registered at a Roadway Inn that they didn't 12 investigation from January 2018 to present? live at, and they proceeded to -- a couple of them filed 13 A. I don't think so, no. Those are usually 13 14 for office on the district trustees that were up for 14 handled locally. 15 15 election, and they voted their compadres in as trustees Q. Did your office maintain any policies, on the road utility district. There was an election 16 16 practices, or procedures regarding the Americans With 17 contest filed. The election was overturned because of 17 Disabilities Act or other laws protecting individuals 18 illegal voting. The complaint was sent to the Attorney with disabilities as those laws pertain to voting in an 19 General and seven of those ten persons were convicted of 19 election? 20 20 illegal voting and sentenced to prison. A. I don't know what that question means. 21 21 Q. Changing subjects again. Are you aware of any Q. Is there anyone specific in your office who 22 instances of violence, intimidation, harassment, or 22 handled the intake of complaints or requests relating to 23 23 other misconduct from a poll watcher? ADA accommodations or voters with disabilities in Texas? 24 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. Vague as to 24 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, lack of 25 the determine "other misconduct." 25 foundation, vague, and assumes facts not in evidence. Page 190 Page 192 A. One of my lawyers that recently left us was the Q. I will try to finish my question and ask it --2 maybe I will just ask it differently at this point. one who headed up sort of the disability function of our 3 Are you aware of any instances of violence office. So what happens is, Disability Rights of Texas 4 will go out and audit counties in an election to find involving either a poll watcher, poll worker, clerk, or election judge in Texas since SB 1 was enacted? out if their polling places are acceptable and if they 6 are meeting the requirements of the Help America Vote Q. Are you aware of any complaint about the Act with regard to voting machine accessibility, and behavior of poll watchers from January 2018 through they send a copy of those audits to our office as well 8 present day? as to the county election official, and I usually have a 9 10 A. Yes. 10 lawyer -- I don't have one designated currently because, 11 like I said, she recently left -- who will go over that MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 12 Q. Approximately how many complaints are you aware 12 audit and call the county and see if we can offer any 13 of? 13 help or assistance in remedying some of the things that 14 14 Disability Rights of Texas finds. A. I don't know. 15 Q. Less than 100? 15 Q. And so you mentioned offering the county help 16 A. Probably. 16 or assistance. What sort of help and assistance have 17 17 Q. Less than 50? you offered in the past? 18 A. I don't know about that. 18 A. We have got the original -- we have got the 19 19 Q. Are there any materials that would help refresh ability now that we didn't used to have to send trainers 20 20 your recollection or inform your opinion about how many to go talk to the county about the specific issues and 21 such complaints there might be? 21 to work with them to come up with remediations: 22 THE REPORTER: I'm sorry. You cut out 22 sometimes the polling place can't be salvaged and they 23 23 there. "Opinion about how many" ... will have to find a different polling place. 2.4 24

Entero v Texas 5:21-cv-844 (XR)

A. No.

4/28/2022

Q. Such complaints there might be?

Entero v Texas National Court Reporters Inc. 888.800.9656 48 (189 - 192) Brian Keith Ingram JD

Q. And the individuals you say you send to, I guess, provided by you, are those individuals sponsored

Page: 48 (189 - 192)

# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, et al.,	S	
Plaintiffs,	S	
	S	
$\nu$ .	S	Case No. 5:21-cv-844-XR
	S	
Gregory W. Abbott, et al.,	S	
Defendants.	S	

STATE DEFENDANTS' BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO
THE UNITED STATES' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

# **APPENDIX N**

Keith Ingram March 28, 2023

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1
                 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                 FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
 2
                      SAN ANTONIO DIVISION
     LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO,
 3
     et al.,
                      Plaintiffs,
 4
          vs.
                                     )Civil Action No.
     STATE OF TEXAS, et al.,
                                    )5:21-cv-844(XR)
                      Defendants. )(Consolidated Cases)
 5
 6
 7
                           ORAL DEPOSITION OF
                           KEITH INGRAM
                           March 28, 2023
 8
                               Volume 1
 9
10
11
          ORAL 30(b)(1) DEPOSITION OF KEITH INGRAM, Volume
12
     1, produced as a witness at the instance of the
13
     Plaintiffs, and duly sworn, was taken in the
14
     above-styled and numbered cause on March 28, 2023, from
15
     9:15 a.m. to 4:18 p.m., before Dana Shapiro, CSR, in
16
     and for the State of Illinois, reported by machine
17
     shorthand, at 209 W. 14th Street, Austin, Texas 78701,
     pursuant to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and
18
19
     any provisions stated on the record or attached
20
     hereto.
21
22
23
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Keith Ingram March 28, 2023
Pages 18 to 21

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Page 18

- 1 if she was called up in that. There was elections bill
  - 2 there, but I don't know if she actually had to testify.
  - Q. What's a sec -- did you -- sorry.
    - A. Oh, she did have to testify. It was on
- 5 Tuesday, that's right. Tuesday a week ago.
- Q. Did you help her prepare for any of those7 committee hearings?
- 8 A. We discussed some of the bills that were
- 9 going to get heard at some of those hearings just10 generally.
- 11 Q. Did any of those bills impact or modify the 12 provisions of SB 1?
- 13 A. Yes.

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- 14 Q. Which one is that?
- 15 A. Well, it's not a direct impact on SB 1. It
- 16 was more modification of House Bill 1382 in the regular
- 17 session of last time, but it was a Bucy bill and house
- 18 elections that modifies the requirements for accessing
- 19 the ballot tracker.
- 20 Q. Is that HB 357?
- 21 A. I don't know.
- 22 Q. Anything else?
- 23 A. I think that might be it.
- Q. What's a Secretary of State clean up bill?
- 25 A. That's usually we will have a bill with

A. You mean if a voter decided to vote in

Page 20

Page 21

- 2 person and cancelled the mail ballot?
- 3 Q. Yes.
  - A. I don't know.
- 5 Q. Do you know if it excludes any other forms
- 6 of rejections?
  - A. It shouldn't. I mean ballots that came in
- 8 late aren't technically rejected, they are just late.
  - Q. Did you testify to the notion that you
- 10 expected that the number of statewide mail ballot
- 11 rejections would continue to improve as you go forward
- 12 in implementation of SB 1?
  - A. That's my belief.
  - Q. What's your basis for that belief?
- 15 A. The trend that we've got so far, and past 16 experience.
- 17 Q. Why do you expect that the trend will
- 18 necessarily continue?
- 19 A. Because voters get more used to it and
- 20 ballot boards get more used to it as it goes through
- 21 election, continuous elections.
- 22 Q. With respect to voters, are there a
- 23 different set of voters in every election that are
- 24 eligible to vote by mail in Texas?
- 25 A. Well, yes, I presume so.

Page 19

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- 1 some suggested small tweaks and changes throughout the
- 2 election code to make it more harmonious or to get rid
- 3 of obsolete language. We don't have a clean up bill
- 4 this time.

- 5 Q. Getting ahead of me, which is helpful.
- 6 At any time did you expect to testify on
- 7 March 16 before the House Elections Committee?
  - A. No.
- 9 Q. Let's turn to March 9 hearing. During your
- 10 testimony before the House Elections Committee on March
- 11 9, did you testify concerning the statewide mail ballot
- 12 rejection rate in Texas; do you recall?
- 13 A. I did.
- 14 Q. Did you say that it was under 3 percent?
- 15 A. I did for the general election, yes.
- 16 Q. Am I correct this figure represents only
- 17 final rejections of mail ballots?
- 18 A. That's correct.
- Q. Does it exclude those that were rejected,
- 20 then cured?
- 21 A. It does.
- 22 Q. Does it exclude those that were rejected,
- 23 then cancelled?
- 24 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 25 BY THE WITNESS:

- Q. New voters turned 65?
- 2 A. But there is overlap as well. People that
- 3 voted by mail continue to vote by mail.
- 4 Q. Will the new voters who are eligible have
- 5 had an opportunity to learn about the process?
- 6 A. Well, they will learn about it as they vote
- 7 by mail for the first time.
- 8 Q. But the first time they won't have had
- 9 experience or a learning curve?
  - MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 11 BY THE WITNESS:
- 12 A. They have peers who experience and a
- 13 learning curve. They talk to each other at Sunday
- 14 school, they talk to each other at church, and at the
- 15 rotary club. So the fact is that the experience of all
- 16 of the voters increases even as new voters vote by
- 16 of the voters increases even as new voters vote b
- *i* maii.
- 18 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 19 Q. With respect to the ballot boards, were
- 20 there errors of any kind by the ballot boards that
- 21 contributed to the rejection rate in the November
- 22 general election?
- A. I don't know for sure because, you know,
- 24 obviously we are not on the ground other than in a few
- 25 counties observing the ballot boards. Anecdotally I



Keith Ingram March 28, 2023 Pages 22 to 25

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Page 22

1 heard some ballot boards weren't comparing signatures 2 at all, and some ballot boards were still giving rigorous examination of signatures. So those two things probably offset each other.

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So what further learning by the ballot boards do you expect will contribute to reductions of the mail ballot rejection rate?

8 We have been training -- doing direct 9 trainings for ballot boards for a couple years now and we will continue that. And in the context of that training, we talk about the rebuttable presumption 12 that's in place after SB 1.

13 So, you know, if a signature -- if a voter 14 has a number on their carrier envelope that matches a 15 number in voter registration record, and then there is 16 a rebuttal presumption that signatures are of the same 17 voter. Of course we know as lawyers rebuttal 18 presumption means it shifts the burden of proof. Well, 19 ballot boards don't think that way. But they do need 20 to understand the signatures are starting from a 21 position of you've got to accept it unless there is 22 evidence to reject it. So that doesn't mean you don't 23 look at the signature at all. It doesn't mean you do 24 the same level of comparison that you would have done 25 before.

1 That is not exactly true, but because they 2 also have to integrate the early voting clerk process 3 from 86011D. From previous law, not SB 1, early voting clerk has the ability to intervene if a voter has some 5 sort of facial compliance issue on their carrier 6 envelope. What we have discussed with counties and 7 with ballot boards is that if a ballot board sees 8 something that could be corrected by the early voting clerk, they can pass that carrier envelope back to the 9 10 early voting clerk. You know, something like missed 11 number or mismatched number. Then the early voting 12 clerk can have either a personal trip to the voter or a 13 telephone call to the voter, email to the voter. They 14 can do all of those things that the ballot board can't 15 necessarily do. They have more flexibility in talking 16 to the voters and curing the problem.

Page 24

So as we communicate that to the ballot 18 boards, I expect that there is going to be more of a 19 shift from the ballot board whenever they have got a 20 preliminary rejection back to the early voting clerks 21 because the early voting clerks has more flexibility in 22 dealing with that preliminary rejection and getting the 23 voter successfully in place with the vote. So they 24 want to make sure that that happens. And so I think 25 that's going to increase over time as well.

Page 23

Is there any learning by the ballot boards that you think you anticipate will lead to reductions in rejections based on the driver's license numbers or Social Security number requirement of SB 1?

Yes, I think as the ballot boards get more used to this they will accord the number the appropriate way. The number is designed to take the 8 place of a less objective measure, which is the signature. So they -- as they rely on the number and 10 then give the signature the weight it's supposed to 11 have and only overcome it if there is some sort of 12 evidence to overcome it then I think more ballots will 13 get accepted.

- 14 Were some ballot boards not recording the 15 information the appropriate way.
- 16 No. They weren't giving it the weight it's 17 supposed to be given.
- 18 I see. Any rejection -- just so I'm clear. 19 Any reduction in the mail ballot rejection rate based 20 on learning from the ballot boards will be related to 21 this signature, and not a reduction in rejections for 22 failure to match a number for the driver's license 23 field or Social Security number field?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

25 BY THE WITNESS:

Page 25 Q. Are you aware of any counties where the 1 early voting clerks were not engaged in this 3 preliminary review of SB 1 compliance? 4 Well, I don't know if early voting clerks

are aware that they can do that. It's something that we wanted to make sure that they understood, that really the general election in '22 was the first time we had a full fledged effort into educating with regard to that. And so we expect that that education will 10 penetrate more as we go from election to election in 11 the future.

- Certainly early voting clerks in large counties were engaged in this effort throughout the November 2022 general election period, correct?
- 15 I don't know if every large county, but I would assume the larger counties, they are more plugged 16 17 into our advice. And so yes, generally I would agree 18 with that.
- 19 Any improvement in terms of the actions early voting clerk be mostly concentrated in smaller 20 21 counties; is that right?

22 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

23 BY THE WITNESS:

24 Most of the counties in Texas are smaller 25 counties. We need to penetrate to the smaller



Keith Ingram March 28, 2023 Pages 34 to 37

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Page 34

So the changes that you suggest, the three changes to SB 1?

Well, three changes to SB 1, one to the 3 ballot tracker, so four changes. 4

How would you describe those if they are sort of suggestions coming out of your office, but you are never for a bill? How does that fit?

It's our office's role to advise on

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9 technical implementation process. And any time you

10 have got a new thing like a corrective ballot,

11 corrective action procedure for mail ballots, you are

12 going to have some kinks in it that need to be worked

13 out. It's our office's role to point out those kinks

14 and suggest ways to work those out.

15 Whenever we implemented annual ballots by 16 mail, the first law was House Bill 666 in 2013. It was 17 about this long, and it just said that a voter can ask 18 one time for all of the ballots by mail. So there were 19 so many things. That was the hardest thing we've ever 20 had to implement before SB 1. It was so complicated. 21 The next session there was a bigger -- much bigger bill

22 to correct that process and make it more uniform. And

23 then there was another bill the next session. So any

24 time that there is a big change like that you expect

25 there is going to be some need to correct the

1 to the counties.

2 Q. With respect to the voter who lacked

3 driver's license or Social Security number information

in their voter registration files, what purpose do the

mail ballots provisions of SB 1 serve?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 6

7 BY THE WITNESS:

The same as they serve for any other

person, which is to identify the voter. 9

10 BY MR. FREEMAN:

11 Q. Is it possible for SB 1 to serve that 12 purpose if the voter doesn't have a driver's license

number or Social Security number on file? 13

Α. Sure.

Q. How would that happen?

> A. They put one on file as part of the

17 corrective action process.

18 So absent the voter taking further action 19 to supplement their registration file, can it serve any 20 purpose?

21 A. Absolutely. It serves the purposes of 22 making them supplement their voter registration file so

23 we have a more complete file. That helps us with all

24 kinds of matching on our list maintenance. It serves a

25 purpose, absolutely.

Page 35

1 implementation to make it more smooth. And that's our With respect to voters who do not currently 1 Q.

2 office's role to suggest those changes. Not that they

were for or against them. If you want to make a

change, here's something you might think about. 5

Thank you for clarifying. I appreciate it. Would you say then that during your time in the elections division at the Office of the Secretary

of State, SB 1 has been the hardest bill to implement?

It was by far the most comprehensive set of 10 changes we ever had. It was every single form, every

single bit of educational material, every outline,

12 every everything had to change.

13 Going back to the March 9 hearing. Did you 14 testify that statewide there were 163 ballots rejected 15 based on SB 1 requirements for voters who did not have

16 either a Social Security number or a driver's license

17 number in the system?

Α. I did.

19 Q. Were those ballots or were those ballot 20 requests?

A. Those were ballots.

22 Q. How did those voters get ballots sent to

23 them if they didn't have driver's license numbers or 24 Social Security numbers in the system?

That I don't know. You would have to talk

Page 37

2 have a driver's license number or Social Security

number on file, is there any connection between those

numbers and the voter's qualifications to vote in Texas

5 elections?

13

6 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

BY THE WITNESS: 7

A. Well, I mean obviously to vote successfully 8

they are going to have produce an ID when they vote in

10 person, and they are going to have to do the same thing

11 when they vote by mail.

12 BY MR. FREEMAN:

Q. Not produce an ID, but produce a number?

14 Produce an ID.

15 When they vote by mail?

That's right, that's what the number is 16 A.

17 it's an ID number.

18 Q. Sorry. When you say ID I thought you meant

19 like a copy of a card. 20 With respect to a voter who does not have a

21 Social Security number or driver's license number on

22 file, is there any connection between that number and

23 establishing the voter's identity prior to any

24 supplementation of their registration record?

I'm not sure I understand that question.



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Keith Ingram March 28, 2023
Pages 38 to 41

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Page 38

- Q. Well, if they don't have a driver's license
- 2 number or Social Security number on record, is there a
- 3 connection between the voter providing that number and
- 4 the voter establishing their identity?
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. Does the voter establish their identity
- 7 when they submit a mail ballot request with their
- 8 driver's license number if the driver's license number
- 9 isn't on TEAM?
- 10 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form, asked and answered.
- 11 BY THE WITNESS:
- 12 A. I don't know what you are getting at. Yes.
- 13 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 14 Q. So switching gears, and we don't need to
- 15 take a break yet, that's good.
- 16 How long did you serve as director of the
- 17 elections division in the Office of the Texas Secretary
- 18 of State?

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- A. 11 years, two months, five days.
- 20 Q. Based on your experience would you agree --
- 21 A. Not that I was counting.
- 22 Q. Based on your experience, would you agree
- 23 that a form provided to voters should be designed so
- 24 that a voter who follows the instructions will have the
- 25 form accepted?

Q. Any current plans to alter the form?

Page 40

Page 41

- 2 A. No.
- 3 Q. Has your office considered altering the
- 4 form since it was issued?
- 5 A. No, not this form.
  - Q. Why not?
- 7 A. There is not a need to.
- 8 Q. Is there a statutory reason this form could
- 9 not inform voters that they may provide both a Texas
- 10 driver's license number and a partial Social Security
- 11 number?
- 12 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 13 BY THE WITNESS:
- 14 A. It's not what the law says. The form
- 15 outlines the law.
- 16 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 17 Q. Okay. And so if the form outlines the law,
- 18 is it not allowed for the form to inform voters that
- 19 they may provide both numbers?
- 20 A. Not on the form. It's not the law.
  - Q. Understood.
- 22 Has your office suggested any kind of
- 23 amendments to SB 1 that would permit including that
- 24 information on this form?
- 25 A. No. There is plenty of outside channels

- MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 2 BY THE WITNESS:
- 3 A. Yes, that's true. That's the goal of the
- 4 form.
- 5 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 6 Q. Since the May 2022 runoff, did the Office
- 7 of the Secretary of State make any changes to the
- 8 absentee ballot by mail application?
- 9 A. We changed several forms. I'm pretty sure
- 10 the application if it's got an oath of assistance on it
- 11 it changed, yes.
- 12 MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as Exhibit 2.
  - (WHEREUPON, a certain document was
- 14 marked Deposition Exhibit No. 2,
- for identification, as of 3/28/23.)
- 16 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 17 Q. Mr. Ingram, is this the current absentee
- 18 ballot by mail form? I will represent to you this
- 19 form, I don't believe the date is on it, but it's the
- 20 form that's currently on your website and it's dated
- 21 December 9, 2021.
- 22 A. Yes. I mean it looks like it, yes.
- 23 Q. Okay. This form is still in effect, the
- 24 form that's on the website?
- 25 A. It is.

- 1 that emphasize that point.
- 2 Q. So is it not necessary to your mind?
- 3 A. Agree with that.
- 4 Q. This form does clarify that the Texas
- 5 driver's license number is not your voter registration
- 6 VUID number, correct?
- 7 A. Agree.
  - Q. Is that in the law --
- 9 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 10 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 11 Q. -- that clarification?
- 12 A. Well, it's in the law is Texas election
- 13 identification certificate number. People think that
- 14 means their voter registration number.
- 15 Q. Why is it permissible to include this
- 16 clarification and not the clarification that a voter
- 17 may include both numbers if they wish?
- A. Because if we did that you would be sitting
- 19 there asking me questions about why we are requiring
- 20 people to do something the law doesn't require. That
- 21 would be a different lawsuit, but it would still be a
- 22 lawsuit.
- 23 Q. Do other forms promulgated by your office
- 24 include a red box around required information
- 25 frequently omitted by voters?



Keith Ingram March 28, 2023
Pages 62 to 65

Page 64 Page 62 provisions of SB 1? 1 associated with the voter registration record? 2 2 We try to say things in a more English and A. I don't know. 3 Q. Are you aware of how many active duty 3 flowing manner. MR. FREEMAN: I think it's a good time to take a 4 members of the military had their ballots rejected 5 during the 2022 general because of SB 1 number 5 quick break. requirements? 6 (WHEREUPON, a recess was had.) 6 7 BY MR. FREEMAN: 7 A. I don't know. 8 Do you have any practical basis to believe 8 Q. Mr. Ingram, since the May 2022 runoff, did Q. The Office of the Secretary of State make any changes that any rejected ballots submitted by FPCA voters were 10 to the FPCA signature sheet? 10 not returned by eligible Texas voters who were who they 11 A. Yes. 11 said they were? 12 12 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as Exhibit 10. 13 (WHEREUPON, a certain document was 13 BY THE WITNESS: 14 marked Deposition Exhibit No. 10, 14 A. I'm sorry. I don't understand the 15 for identification, as of 3/28/23.) 15 question. BY MR. FREEMAN: 16 BY MR. FREEMAN: 16 17 17 Do you have any reason to believe that any Q. Mr. Ingram, what's this document? 18 This is the signature sheet for voters from 18 FPCA voters -- strike that. 19 Do you have any reason to believe that any 19 overseas or military who's domestic or oversees. 20 Q. Is this the up-to-date version of that 20 FPCA ballots that were rejected due to SB 1 were 21 submitted by individuals who were not eligible Texas form? 22 voters? 22 A. It is. 23 Q. What changes were made during the general 23 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 24 election period? 24 BY THE WITNESS: 25 25 The oath language was changed. A. I don't know. Α. Page 65 Page 63 Q. That's all? 1 BY MR. FREEMAN: 1 2 That's it. 2 Q. Do you have any future plans to address Α. 3 Did you or your staff consider any further ballot rejections among active duty military 3 changes to the FPCA signature sheet during the general 4 specifically? 5 election period? 5 Not other than, you know, the what we are 6 We did not. Α. going to do with ballot boards, educate them on the 7 Q. Why not? 7 early voting process and their opportunities there. 8 Α. There was no need. 8 My colleague intends to address training 9 Is there a statutory reason, just to conducted by The Office of the Secretary of State 10 confirm, that the FPCA signature sheet could not inform during Rule 30(b)(6) deposition, but I have a few quick 10 military overseas voters that they may provide both a 11 questions about updates to the training prior to the 12 Texas driver's license number and a four digit Social? 12 end of last year. So if we could mark this document as 13 Α. That's not required by the law. 13 Exhibit 11 I promise we will only talk about a few 14 Just to close the loop, if it's not 14 pages. required by the law it can't be on this form, correct? (WHEREUPON, a certain document was 15 15 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. marked Deposition Exhibit No. 11, 16 16 17 17 BY THE WITNESS: for identification, as of 3/28/23.) 18 Α. The form is a map to the law. 18 BY MR. FREEMAN: 19 BY MR. FREEMAN: 19 Mr. Ingram, what's this document? 20 20 A. It appears to be a presentation on ballot Q. Any current plans to alter the signature 21 sheet? 21 by mail. 22 Α. 22 Q. Is this the most recent presentation on 23 23 ballot by mail that your office has provided? Q. Are you aware of how many FPCA voters had



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I believe so. I mean what I find on those

25 power points is the date that it's printed is the date

24 their ballot rejected during the 2022 general election

25 because of SB 1 requirements related to numbers

Keith Ingram March 28, 2023
Pages 66 to 69

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Page 66

1 that shows up on here. So it's not really a very

- 2 useful guide. But as far as I know, we didn't change
- 3 our guidance or instructions in our presentations
- 4 throughout the '22 year.
- 5 Q. It's from the election law seminar. Do you
- 6 know when that was held?
  - A. I don't. It was in July or August.
- 8 Q. Okay. Did you participate in the drafting
- 9 of this document?

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- 10 A. I did review it, yes.
- 11 Q. So others drafted, but you reviewed after
- 12 it had been drafted; would that be right?
- 13 A. That's correct.
- 14 Q. Did you give the training based on this
- 15 document?
- 16 A. No, sir.
- 17 Q. Who did?
- 18 A. I don't remember, maybe Heidi Martinez.
- 19 Q. Who is Ms. Martinez?
- 20 A. She is one of our staff attorneys.
- 21 Q. Does this presentation -- are you aware of
- 22 whether this presentation instructed local clerks to
- 23 inform voters upon request whether they had a driver's
- 24 license or SSN on file?
- 25 A. As I stated before, we don't have to tell

- Page 68
  1 how they should look up the voter registration status
- 2 of an applicant?
- 3 A. No.
  - Q. Do you have an understanding of how they
- 5 typically go about doing that?
  - A. They either use TEAM or they use their
- 7 local system. And some off-line counties use TEAM for
- 8 this.
- 9 Q. What information do they plug in when they
- 10 are trying to pull up the registration status like
- 11 name?
- 12 A. Well, I mean if you're using TEAM you can
- 13 search by voter name. That's probably the way they do
- 14 it. They are limited to their county.
- 15 Q. If we turn to page 32. What are the
- 16 matters set out here?
- 17 A. This talks about the new law.
- 18 Q. This is talking about looking up
- 19 identification numbers; is that correct?
- 20 A. That's correct.
  - Q. That is separate from looking up
- 22 registration status?
  - A. It's part of the registration status.
- 24 Q. But it's --
- 25 A. That's what it says at the last sentence

- them to do that. That's something they do, they answervoter's questions.
- 3 Q. Just to be clear, they -- you don't train
- 4 them to do that, that's just something you expect them
- 5 to do?
- 6 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 7 BY THE WITNESS:
- 8 A. I expect county election officials to
- 9 answer voter questions, yes, I do.
- 10 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 11 Q. Including that question?
- 12 A. Yes, including that question very much so.
- 13 Q. Turning to page 31. What are the matters
- 14 set on page 31?
- 15 A. The best practices when reviewing an
- 16 application for ballot by mail.
- 17 Q. So this is the review conducted by the
- 18 early voting clerk?
- 19 A. Early voting clerk is the one who reviews 20 applications for ballot by mail, yes.
- 21 Q. The early voting clerk has to look up the 22 registration status of the voter as part of that
- 23 process?
- 24 A. That's correct.
- 25 Q. And do you suggest as part of that training

- Page 69
  1 you talk to the voter registrar to confirm the voter
- 2 registration and status.
- 3 Q. But am I correct that the numbers provided
- 4 here, driver's license, Social Security number, they
- 5 are not used to look up the voter, they are used to
- 6 confirm the voter: is that correct?
- 7 A. They are used to make sure the voter has
- 8 properly identified themself on the application, yes.
- 9 Q. Those numbers are not used to find the
- 10 voter in TEAM as part of the ABBM processing, correct?
- 11 A. No, sir. I mean not usually. I guess they
- 12 could look it up by DL number if they wanted to.
- 13 Q. Do you have any understanding as to
- 14 whether -- strike that.
- 15 Do you instruct local officials to do that?
- 16 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 17 BY THE WITNESS:
- 18 A. We don't tell them how they use TEAM. All
- 19 of the fields are available to look up anything they
- 20 want to look up.
- 21 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 22 Q. Are you aware of any local officials using
- 23 the Texas driver's license number or Social Security
- 24 number to look up a voter as part of the initial
- 25 determination of their registration status?



Keith Ingram March 28, 2023 Pages 98 to 101

Page 98 1 through Texas.gov.

2 Is this the page that voters would use to

- update their Texas driver's license number or Social
- Security number on their voter file?
- 5 A. If they wanted to add to voter file this
- was the one that replaces zero, no value with a number. 6
  - Is there any indication on this website
- that this is the page that can be used to update Texas
- driver's license number or Social Security number on
- 10 voter registration record?
- 11 A. No. But if you fill this out, the next
- 12 page in says, "If your purpose is to update your voter
- 13 record with your numbers you have done it so log out.
- You are finished."

7

- 15 Okay. In some are there any instructions Q. 16 prior --
- 17 Act of logging in supplies no values. Α.
- 18 Understood. In some are there any
- 19 instructions on Texas.gov prior to logging in that this
- 20 site may be used to add a Texas driver's license number
- 21 or Social Security number to voter registration
- 22 records?

3

8

- 23 A. I don't think so.
- 24 Q. We previously discussed a number of ways
- 25 voters can add or correct identification numbers on a

- 1 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 2 The ballot tracker is only accessible to
- 3 voters who have both a Texas driver's license number

Page 100

Page 101

- and a Social Security number on their TEAM file,
- 5 correct?

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- Α. Right.
- 7 Q. As of right now?
  - Α. That's correct. Which is over 96 percent
- 9 of voters.
- 10 Q. Mr. Ingram, do you recall when we met back
- in April of 2022 that we discussed whether a single 11
- voter could be issued more than one DPS number? 12
- 14 Q. Do you recall whether you knew at the time
- 15 whether DPS had in fact issued multiple numbers to
- particular individuals over the course of their
- lifetime? 17
  - A. If I didn't say that's a DPS question I am
- saying it now, it's a DPS question. 19
- 20 Do you know whether DPS has done that in
  - the past?
- 22 A. To my knowledge, you get one number.
  - Q. I have some document I'm hoping can clear
- this up. We can mark this as Exhibit 19.
  - (WHEREUPON, a certain document was

- 1 ballot envelope or FCPA signature sheet. Is there any
- 2 change in those procedures since May of 2022?
  - A. There is not.
- 4 Q. So I'm clear, a voter can correct on the
- envelope or signature sheet and send it back, they can
- hand return the envelope or they can cancel the mail
- ballot and vote in person; is that right? 7
  - Those are some of the options.
- 9 What are the other options?
- 10 A. They can correct the ballot tracker and add 11 numbers to Texas.gov.
- 12 But if a mail ballot has been sent back to
- 13 them, they have to physically return the ballot; is 14 that right?
- 15 A. They have to physically return a ballot,
- 16 yes.
- 17 They can only correct on the ballot tracker
- 18 if the early voting ballot board has retained the
- 19 ballot; is that right?
- 20 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 21 BY THE WITNESS:
- 22 A. Well, if they've got the ballot they've got
- 23 to get it back, but they can also correct the
- 24 information on the ballot tracker. Those are not
- 25 mutually exclusive.

- marked Deposition Exhibit No. 20,
- 2 for identification, as of 3/28/23.)
  - MR. FREEMAN: This is 20.
- 4 BY MR. FREEMAN:
  - Q. What's this document?
  - It appears to be an email exchange with
- Mr. or Mrs. Mickey Marvins and our office. 7
  - If you go to the original email on page 3
- 9 what's the problem that Ms. Marvins describes.
  - That she got an ID to replace her driver's
- 11 license, and the ID number wasn't in her voter record.
- 12 As a result, her friend who had this
- 13 experience had a problem getting an absentee ballot
- 14 because the number on her DPS identification was
- 15 different when she went from a driver's license to an
- 16 ID card; is that right?
- 17 Agree with that. Just in case you are
- 18 wondering, that's not inconsistent with what I said.
- 19 You get one number. You surrender your DL and you get
- 20 the ID number. I don't want you under the impression
- you got two numbers. You got one number. It just 21
- 22 changed.
- 23 Q. I see. Okay. Bit of a clarification.
- 24 A. I want to make sure we are clear.
- 25 Over the course of a lifetime, is what I



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Pages 102 to 105

Page 102

1 asked before, a voter can be issued more than one ID

number by DPS; is that correct?

3 A. If you change from one form of ID to 4 another then yes.

5 Q. When did you first become aware of that 6 fact?

7 A. I have always known that. I don't know -- 8 it's not a strange or unusual piece of information. I

9 went to Arkansas, I had to surrender my driver's

10 license. I came back, I had to surrender my Arkansas 11 license.

12 Q. Am I correct that SB 1 permits voters to 13 submit a driver's license number that is expired, 14 correct?

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. Even if I have surrendered my driver's

17 license number, if that's the number -- if I have

18 surrendered my driver's license and gotten an ID, if my

19 driver's license is still on file with TEAM, I can vote

20 using the number on my driver's license; is that right?

A. You can for up to four years for a person under 70. Then for a person over 70 it can be expired

23 for however long you need it.

Q. Are you sure that's the rule for SB 1 and 55 not for the voter ID?

Page 104 1 misunderstand and think that's what they have to

2 submit. Has your office done anything to address that

3 specific scenario?

4 A. You would have to talk to Sam about our 5 education campaign. But, you know, what we tell voters

6 if they call our office is that they need to use

7 whatever is currently in their voter registration, and

8 that's why we encourage them to use both numbers so

9 that if one of them hits they are good.

Q. Is a voter able, to your knowledge, to call
their local clerk or election administrator and ask
specifically what number is on their registration

13 record?

18

1

3

14 A. Of course.

Q. So I could call and say what's the driver'slicense on my registration record and then fill that in

17 on an ABBM?

19 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

20 BY THE WITNESS:

A. Sure.

21 A. It would go through some questions to

22 validate that it's you and not some vote harvester

23 trying to steal your vote, but yes.

24 BY MR. FREEMAN:

25 Q. What questions would they use?

Page 103

1 A. It's the same. It incorporates 63101 into 2 mail ballots.

Q. In any case, has your office taken anyactions to address issues created by voters who have

5 and hold DPS ID number on file and who have received a

6 new DPS ID number on a new form of ID?

7 A. That's voter responsibility to update their8 information in TEAM. And they can do that very

9 conveniently, they are at DPS, say, "Use this

information to update my voter record." They just haveto check yes on a box.

12 MR. FREEMAN: Off the record for a moment.

(WHEREUPON, a discussion was had off the record.)

15 BY MR. FREEMAN:

13

14

20

21

16 Q. Has your office done anything to address17 the issue of voters who submit the number of old

18 identification that's no longer the number on TEAM, but

19 remains valid for SB 1 purposes?

A. I don't know what that question means.

Q. Sure. Let's say a voter had a driver's

22 license, surrenders it, gets an ID card and does update

23 TEAM with the ID card number -- thumbs up from the

24 witness -- but then they submit their old driver's

25 license number because they are concerned or

Page 105

A. I don't know. Whatever the county uses

whenever they validate someone's identity on the phone.

Q. Any information that isn't also on the

4 ABBM?

5 A. Well, it's information that would be in

6 their voter record.

7 Q. But it's information that was on the

8 application prior to SB 1, right, name, date of birth,

9 address, things like that, correct?

10 A. That's correct.

11 Q. In theory if a voter -- strike that.

So if an individual wanted to cast an ABBM in someone else's name, the only security addition

14 created by SB 1 is the driver's license number or a

15 Social Security number, correct?

16 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

17 BY THE WITNESS:

18 A. Well, I mean signature still counts.

19 BY MR. FREEMAN:

20 Q. Sure. That was pre -- signature counted

21 pre-SB 1, right?

22 A. Agreed.

Q. In fact, it's easier to meet the signature

24 requirement after SB 1?

A. Agreed.



23

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Pages 106 to 109

1

Page 106

All the voter needs to do to get that

2 driver's license number is to call the clerk with

3 pre-SB 1 information and ask for which driver's license

4 number is on file, no?

5 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

6 BY THE WITNESS:

7 A. No.

8 BY MR. FREEMAN:

9 Q. Why not?

10 A. Because they can call and ask, "What do I 11 have on file?" They will say DL or SSN or both.

12 Q. What if they say what number is on file?

13 A. If the voter -- then I would imagine, I

14 don't know because I'm not a county, but if I was a

15 county voter registrar I would say, "What driver's

16 license number -- what's your driver's license number?"

17 They would look and say, "Yup that's what you got."

Q. Okay. Thank you for that clarification.

How many DPS ID numbers can be associated

20 with a voter's TEAM record?

21 A. One.

18

19

22 Q. Has there been any discussion, to your

23 knowledge, of adding a field to TEAM so that additional

24 driver's license numbers could be listed?

A. That's something that we have recently

Page 108

A. I'm not going to get into assignment of

2 fault.

3 BY MR. FREEMAN:

4 Q. Do you know if the fact that DPS has issued

5 multiple ID numbers to the same individuals over their

6 lifetimes has led to the rejection of mail ballot

7 materials under SB 1?

8 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

9 BY THE WITNESS:

A. It's my understanding that's happened atleast in Bexar County because I have a member of the

12 ballot board who has been coming up here for the

13 election meetings because of it.

14 BY MR. FREEMAN:

15 Q. Have you conducted any further inquiry into 16 the extent to which such voters have had their mail

17 ballot materials rejected?

A. Just what she says.

19 Q. Is there anything else that could have been 20 done for voters who have multiple DPS ID numbers to

21 ensure their ballots are counted?

22 A. I don't know how to answer that question.

Q. I don't run an elections office. I'm

24 asking if you know of anything else that could have

25 been done by your office to help those voters?

Page 107 A.

18

23

1 discussed to think about the next iteration of TEAM,2 and whether or not they want to have another field for

3 an ID number. That decision has not been made yet.

4 Q. What's the stage of the procurement process

5 for the next iteration of TEAM at this point?

A. We are going through the drafting of the

7 RFP, RFO, whatever we are calling it.

Q. Do you know when that will be complete?

A. Soon. If I had my way it would have been

10 two weeks ago.

9

11 Q. To be clear, if a voter has been issued

12 multiple DPS numbers and provides a DPS ID number

13 different from the one listed in TEAM on an ABBM and

14 does not also provide a Social Security number, that

15 ABBM will be rejected, correct?

16 A. If they don't provide a number that's in

17 their voter registration record they will be rejected,

8 yes, at least temporarily.

19 Q. Same thing on mail ballot?

20 A. Same thing on mail ballot.

21 Q. Would you agree a duly registered voter

22 whose ballot was rejected under these circumstances was

23 not at fault?

24 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

25 BY THE WITNESS:

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I don't know how to answer that question.

2 Q. Okay. Is there anything else that the

3 voter could have done if they have an old number on4 TEAM and submit number on their new ID card or vice

5 versa?

6 A. Well, the voter has the responsibility to

7 make sure their information in the voter registration

8 record is correct and accurate and updated. The voter

9 bears that responsibility.

10 Q. Do you know how many registered voters in

11 Texas have been issued multiple numbers in their

12 lifetimes?

17

13 A. I do not.

14 Q. Do you know how many ABBM or mail ballots

15 have been rejected on account of the voters submitting

16 a correct DPS ID number that was not listed on TEAM?

A. I don't.

18 Q. Have there been any actions taken by your

19 office other than in-filling driver's license numbers

20 as part of the HB2515 process to address the absence of

21 driver's license numbers or up-to-date driver's license

22 numbers on voter registration records?

A. We have made sure we have got a pipeline

24 from Texas.gov so that we can capture that log-in

25 information whenever someone logs in to fill in the



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Pages 110 to 113

Page 110

1 values for us.

- 2 Q. Anything else?
- 3 A. That's not an unsubstantial thing.
- 4 Q. Understood. Is there anything else so I
- 5 have your full testimony?
- 6 A. I mean we have told the voters they need to
- 7 use both. We told voters the way they can add numbers
- 8 if they want to add numbers.
  - Q. Anything else?
- 10 A. That's it, I think.
- 11 MS. HUNKER: I know we took a short break before,
- 12 but sort of a good place to take five if that's all
- 13 right?

9

- 14 MS. HUNKER: Yes.
- 15 (WHEREUPON, a recess was had.)
- 16 MR. FREEMAN: Back on the record.
- 17 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 18 Q. Mr. Ingram, to the extent you know, what
- 19 was the final mail ballot rejection rate in the 2022
- 20 primarily?
- 21 A. You know, it's obviously two different
- 22 primaries, and there were different -- democrats were
- 23 higher than the republicans, but I believe the
- 24 composite rate was under 13 percent, under 12.8, 12.7,
- 25 something like that.

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- 1 of mail ballot impersonation in Texas elections before
- 2 passage of SB 1?
- 3 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 4 BY THE WITNESS:
- 5 A. I have no idea what the rate of mail ballot
- 6 impersonation is or ever has been.
- 7 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 8 Q. After serving for over a decade as the
- 9 director of elections for the State of Texas, do you
- 10 know whether or not 2.7 percent of mail ballots cast in
- 11 elections pre-SB 1 were actually cast by individuals
- 12 other than the registered voter on whose behalf the
- 13 ballots were cast?
- 14 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 15 BY THE WITNESS:
- 16 A. The rejection rate of 1 to 3 percent is
- 17 historically what it's always been. So we are back in
- 18 the zone. One of the reasons for rejection is that the
- 19 mail ballot was not signed by the voter. It was signed
- 20 by somebody other than the voter. The voter was not
- 24 the area who simpled the appring and the application
- 21 the one who signed the carrier and the application.
- 22 BY MR. FREEMAN:
  - Q. So that wasn't the answer to my question.
- 24 My question was, to your knowledge, were 2.7 percent or
- 25 more of mail ballots cast in any statewide election in

Page 111

23

- 1 Q. Do you know what the rate in the democratic 2 primary was?
- 3 A. No. I think it was a little over 13 maybe.
- 4 Q. It's not a quiz. It's all right.
- 5 A. We can look it up.
- 6 Q. So the republican rate was a little bit
- 7 lower than that?
- 8 A. It was a little under 12.
- 9 Q. In the primary runoff, do you know what the
- 10 aggregate rate was?
- 11 A. Right at 12 percent.
- 12 Q. The democratic runoff, do you know what the
- 13 rate was then?
- 14 A. I don't.
- 15 Q. Was the democratic rate higher than the
- 16 republican rate in the primary runoff as well?
- 17 A. I think in the runoff it went the other
- 18 way. I just have to go look and make sure, but it was19 close.
- 20 Q. Then we already discussed, but just so we
- 21 have it here, what was the final rejection rate in the
- 22 2022 general election?
- 23 A. 2.7 percent.
- 24 Q. Based on your knowledge and experience, how
- 25 do these figures compare, 2.7 for 13 or so to the rate

- Page 113

  1 Texas fraudulent because they were cast by someone
- 2 else?
- 3 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.4 BY THE WITNESS:
- 5 A. Again, I don't know how many were
- 6 fraudulent because they were cast by somebody else. I
- 7 know ballot boards reject mail ballots because the
- 8 voter was not the one who signed them.
- 9 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 10 Q. Do you have any basis to believe based on
- 1 your knowledge and experience that over 2 percent of
- 12 mail ballots in any statewide election were cast by
- 13 someone other than the voter in whose name the ballot
- 14 was cast?
- 15 A. Again, I don't know the answer to that
- 16 question. The answer I have got is rejection, and
- 17 rejection because they're not the same person is the
- 18 most common rejection reason.
- 19 Q. Because they are not the same person or
- 20 because they didn't sign?
- 21 A. Because they are not the voter. The
- 22 signatures don't match.
- 23 Q. When a signature doesn't match -- strike
- 24 that.
  - If an election administrator or ballot



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Pages 126 to 129

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Page 126
Okay. How often in the past did you

2 provide templates for op-eds?

A. I don't know. Several times. It's -- what

- 4 we have done them for is the ID requirements. The ID
- 5 requirements when they changed for photo ID, and they
- 6 changed again in 2017 --
- 7 Q. So --
- 8 A. -- or 2016.
- 9 Q. -- for SB 14 the voter ID law, the change
- 10 to voter ID law, and SB 1, those are the three times
- 11 you can recall?
- 12 A. That we have tried to use this form of
- 13 communication to get the counties to propagate
- 14 something, yes. I mean we offer templates to the
- 15 counties for everything every year, every election
- 16 year, but the ones that we specifically drafted, you
- 17 know, for part of voter education were usually ID
- 18 related.
- 19 Q. Do you know whether any other election
- 20 administrators or officials were able to place op-eds
- 21 about these requirements after this email went out?
- 22 A. I don't know.
- 23 Q. So you can't -- can you identify any other
- 24 counties that did manage to place op-eds?
- 25 A. I don't know.

- 1 education?
  - 2 A. I don't know. I mean I think as voters
  - 3 talk amongst themselves it's going to get better, yes.

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- 4 I don't know if it's substantial. You say substantial
- 5 reductions. I don't know about that.
- 6 Q. Does your office have plans to reach
- 7 different voters from those reached previously by voter
- 8 education efforts on SB 1?
- 9 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 10 BY THE WITNESS:
  - A. That again is going to be part of the
- 12 request for proposal. Depends on how much money the
- 13 legislature gives us.
- 14 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 15 Q. Do you have any knowledge of targeted plans
- 16 to reach voters who didn't understand prior voter
- 17 registration efforts?
- 18 A. No. I mean part of every education
- 19 campaign is the feedback loop. And, you know,
- 20 determination of what can be done better next time.
- 21 But again, that's all done by the communications team
- 22 and the vendor.
  - Q. Going back to Exhibit 21. Did Mr. Taylor
- 24 attribute the decrease in voters -- strike that.
  - Did Mr. Taylor attribute the decrease in

- Q. Do you intend to submit templates or
- 2 examples to county officials about SB 1 ID requirements
- 3 again in the future?
- 4 A. Sure.
- 5 Q. Do you expect newspapers to be receptive to
  - op-eds when the requirements are no longer new?
- 7 A. It's not just the op-eds. It's also
- 8 talking to them about how to approach their local news
- 9 media and getting a story placed. It's also handouts
- 10 and colorful material they can use to give to the
- 11 voters. So it's a full fledged campaign that Sam would
- 12 know more about than I do.
- 13 Q. Do you expect newspapers to be as receptive
- 14 to similar op-eds in the future when the requirements
- 15 are no longer new?
- 16 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 17 BY THE WITNESS:
- 18 A. Sure.
- 19 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 20 Q. Why is that?
- 21 A. Because they are always hungry for content.
- 22 Local news needs content. This is good content for
- 23 them. They like it.
- 24 Q. Do you expect substantial further
- 25 reductions in mail ballot rejections due to voter

- Page 129
  1 mail ballot rejection rates to voters getting used to
- 2 SB 1 requirements?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. Do you agree --
- 5 A. He said that, you know, one of the things
- 6 we have always expected was that the voters would get
- 7 used to it.
  - Q. Do you agree?
- 9 A. Absolutely.
- 10 Q. If a voter had their ballot rejected, they
- 11 failed to cure, correct?
- 12 A. If it's finally rejected, yes.
  - Q. So the cure process affords a voter an
- 14 additional opportunity code to comply with SB 1
- 15 requirements during a single election; is that right?
- 16 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 17 BY THE WITNESS:
- 18 A. If that was the reason for the initial
- 19 rejection or notice of defect.
- 20 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 21 Q. Would you agree then that even when
- 22 presented with multiple opportunities to comply with SB
- 23 1, each final rejection represents a voter who failed
- 24 to learn and comply even with multiple opportunities?
- 25 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.



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Pages 130 to 133

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Page 130

1 BY THE WITNESS:

- 2 A. Sometimes the clock runs out on folks.
- 3 But, you know, I don't know what you are trying to get
- 4 at. But you are assuming that the rejections were all
- 5 because of SB 1. That's not a safe assumption. There
- 6 are lots of reasons why mail ballots get rejected. If
- 7 you want to know the list, you should go to a county
- 8 and ask them.
- 9 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 10 Q. Let's just bracket to SB 1 rejections. And
- say with respect to SB 1 rejections, because of thecure opportunity, everyone has multiple chances to get
- 13 down their voter information, right, their ID numbers?
- 14 A. I don't necessarily agree with that because 15 again the clock runs out.
- 16 Q. But prior to the clock running out, there
- 17 is supposed to be an opportunity to cure, correct?
  - A. If they got notice before the clock ran
- 19 out.

18

- 20 Q. Some voters get notice after the clock runs
- 21 out?
- 22 A. That's right.
- 23 Q. With respect to the voters who did get
- 24 notice before the clock ran out, many of them had a
- 25 second opportunity, and nonetheless failed to get the

- Page 132
  1 rejection rates between the March primary and November
- 2 general?
- 3 A. Yes.
  - Q. What's the county election seminar?
- 5 A. That's a seminar that we do every year for
- 6 county election officials to teach them about election
- 7 law requirements and how to implement them in their
- 8 county.
- 9 Q. When was the county election seminar in
- 10 2021?
  - A. I don't remember.
- 12 Q. Was it before --
- 13 A. July or August.
- 14 Q. So before SB 1 was passed?
- 15 A. In '21, yes.
  - Q. When was the seminar in '22?
- 17 A. July or August.
- 18 Q. After the March primary, before the
- 19 November general, correct?
- 20 A. Agree with that.
  - Q. So based on your experience as director of
- 22 elections, during the 2022 election cycle do you do
- 23 most -- sorry. Did most county election officials
- 24 understand the SB 1 acceptance and cure process during
- 25 the November 2022 general?

Page 131

- 1 information required by SB 1 on to their ballot,
- 2 correct?
- 3 A. Maybe. Maybe they decided not to. Maybe
- 4 they deeded to cancel their mail ballot and vote in
- 5 person. You know, I don't know what happened with 6 those.
- 7 Q. In light of the cure opportunity, why do
- 8 you expect that yet more exposure to the SB 1
- 9 requirements would continue to drive down rejection
- 10 rates?

16

- 11 A. Because as people learn about something and
- 12 talk about it amongst themselves they get better at it.
- 13 It's just a fact.
- 14 Q. In each new election cycle, do a new batch
- 15 of voters turn 65?
  - We have talked about that before.
- 17 Q. We have. They won't have to get used to SB
- 18 1 mail ballot requirements?
- 19 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. No. But they would have heard about it
- 22 from their peers.
- 23 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 24 Q. Have additional trainings of state and
- 25 local election officials helped to reduce ballot

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A. I don't know. That's a hard question. I

- 2 don't know what they hear. I only know what we say.
- 2 Mahadan darkan efficial analisma ancesticalism
- 3 We had an election official email us a question in
- 4 2017, 2017, four years after photo ID requirements were
- 5 in place, asking if photo ID was required for voting.
- 6 Q. That was after there had been --
- 7 A. No
- 8 Q. -- a decision by the Federal court saying
- 9 that the original law violated the Voting Rights Act,
- 10 right?
- 11 A. She was asking if photo ID was required at
- 12 all. She didn't have any clue. She had been in office
- 13 the whole four years. She had been to our seminars,
- 14 read our materials, I presume. I don't know. But I'm
- 15 saying I don't have any control at all over what the
- 16 counties hear and how they interpret it.
- 17 Q. Are you aware of any ballot rejection in
- 18 the November general that resulted from misapplication
- 19 of SB 1 by local officials?
  - A. Any what?
- 21 Q. Ballot rejections, mail ballot rejections
- 22 in November that resulted -- that were the result of
- 23 misapplication of SB 1 by local officials?
- 24 A. I think we have talked about the
- 25 misapplication of the signature requirement after the



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1 introduction of rebuttal presumption.

2 I mean the rejection of mail ballots based on the driver's license or Social Security number requirements?

5 I don't know how you can separate the two. 6 The driver's license and Social Security number being

7 in the voter's record is supposed to create a

8 rebuttable presumption that the signatures are of the

9 voter. So that signature comparison requirement, that

10 the degree of scrutiny that's applied to the signatures

11 part and parcel of SB 1 requirements. If the

12 signatures were overanalyzed even though the number

13 already matched the number in their system, then that

14 results in a rejection because of a mistake by the

15 ballot board.

16 Q. Okay. Are you aware of any rejections of 17 ballots for failure to put a driver's license number,

18 Social Security number on the carrier envelope that

19 matches TEAM where the rejection was a result of

20 misapplication of SB 1 by local officials?

21 So a voter puts a number on the envelope.

22 that number is in their TEAM record, and they still

23 rejected it --

1

13

15

24 Q. Any rejection --

25 Α. -- because of that? 1 BY MR. FREEMAN:

2 Q. Are you aware of any instances where the

official rejected a mail ballot where a voter had put

down their SSN, and had a driver's license number, and

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SSN on TEAM and they applied the hierarchy, for

example, and shouldn't have, would that be an error by

7 a local official in applying SB 1 to the numbers?

MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

BY THE WITNESS: 9

10 Α. I'm not aware of anything like that

11 happening. What we've told them is if the number that

the voter puts is in the record, they are supposed to 12

13 accept it. I'm not aware of any county rejecting it

14 with a number in the record. That would be crazy.

15 BY MR. FREEMAN:

16 Q. Good. Are you aware of any other similar 17 types of errors by local officials where they rejected

18 a ballot and they shouldn't have in relation to the

19 numbers themselves?

> Α. No.

Q. Okay. Would you agree then you don't

22 expect any substantial further rejection or further

23 reductions in mail ballot rejections based on the

24 numbers alone from training of local officials --

25 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

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Are you aware of any rejection of a mail

ballot based on the number requirements because of some

kind of error by a local official?

4 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

5 BY THE WITNESS:

I have already told you what I know about 6

rebuttable presumption not being evenly applied. 7

BY MR. FREEMAN:

Separate from the rebuttable presumption, 9

10 just the number requirements?

11 A. I don't even know how that would be. I

12 don't know what you are talking about.

Q. Okay. Let's try and ask in a way that

14 works for you then.

Just a yes/no requirement, you have to have

16 a number that matches TEAM, driver's license number,

17 Social Security number, that requirement standing

18 alone, that sort of bar to acceptance, are you aware of

19 any rejection based on that bar to acceptance the

20 ballot where the rejection was a result of a

21 misapplication of SB 1 by local officials?

22 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.

23 BY THE WITNESS:

24 A. I don't even know how that would be. I

25 don't know what you are talking about. 1 BY MR. FREEMAN:

2 -- not based on signature?

No, I wouldn't agree with that at all. 3

4 Because we also train ballot boards now. We do

5 webinars for the ballot boards themselves. Ballot

boards themselves are the ones who make the call

whether to accept or reject. Now I'm not aware of a 7

8 ballot board rejecting a carrier envelope because

somebody had a number and they should have used the

10 other number. That's crazy talk. But there are a lot

11 of ballot boards who either didn't give the signatures

any weight at all or gave them too much weight and then

13 rejected even though the number was in the system. So

14 that's the part that we are going to work on educating

and correcting. 15 16

But nothing related to the numbers standing Q. 17 alone and not in relation to signatures?

18 Again, I don't know what that means. I

19 don't know how you would do that.

20 Okay. Are there any other reasons why mail 21 ballot rejection rates decreased from the March primary 22 to the November general that we haven't talked about?

You know, I just think -- I mean Sam calls

24 it getting used to, but it's a process of permeating

25 the side geist. You know what I mean? It's something



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- 1 that filters into people's consciousness over time,
- 2 that that is something that I don't know if we just
- 3 call it getting used to it. But whatever it is it gets
- better over time, the requirements.
- 5 Mr. Ingram, do you know what share of voters cast ballots by mail in November of 2022? 6
  - I did think of another reason they get
- better over time. It's because our data gets better
- 9 over time. You know, the more voters that update their
- 10 information with one of the numbers, the better we are
- going to have. If they make the ballot tracker easier
- 12 to access, that's an easier way to correct the defect.
- 13 Do you know how many voters added driver's
- 14 license numbers or Social Security numbers to their
- 15 voter registration file using Texas.gov during the
  - general election period?

7

- 17 I don't know. I know we had over 40,000 18 people update their registration using Texas.gov. I
  - don't know how many of those were numbers only.
- A lot could have been address changes? 20
- 21 A lot could have been address changes and a
- 22 lot of them could have been numbers. I don't know how
- 23 many of each there are.
- 24 You are not getting new registrants who 25 don't provide either a driver's license number or

- Page 140 1 the Help America Vote Act you had to have one of those.
- 2 I think we required the full nine, not the last four.
- Help America Vote Act made us reduce it to the last 4 four only.
- 5 Q. Okay. But you are not getting a large 6 influx of additional voters now with no SSN, no DL?
  - Agree with that.
- 8 And so attempts to add information are not
- going to make further substantial changes in the future 9
- 10 because you have that for most of them already, right?
  - Well, I mean that's the whole issue, right?
- 12 We have got less than half a percent who have neither
- 13 one of those numbers in the record, right. Only if
- 14 that half of a percent tries to vote by mail and then
- 15 adds the number, will we get it, but that does happen,
- and we will work on that last 93,800 folks to get them 16
- 17 a number.
- Q. What are you doing affirmatively to work to 19 get them a number?
- 20 Well, what I talked about. We have changed
- 21 Texas gov where we get no value supplied to us if
- 22 anybody logs on to us. We are telling voters if they
- 23 have their application rejected for lack of a number in
- 24 the system that's how you add the numbers to your
- 25 record. I mean I don't know how else you would do it.

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- 1 Social Security number anymore into the system; is that 2 right?
- 3 Α. Well --
- 4 MS. HUNKER: Objection, form.
- 5 BY THE WITNESS:
- 6 -- they've got the opportunity to have
- registration without either one of the numbers. 7
- 8 BY MR. FREEMAN:
- 9 Other than the very small fraction of
- 10 people who check that box, you are not getting --
- 11 everyone is providing either a driver's license number
- 12 or a Social Security number on their voter registration
- 13 applications now, correct?
- 14 There is a box for them, but there is also
- 15 a box for "I don't have either one of those."
- 16 Do you know how many folks that you 17 register with the box that says, "I don't have a
- driver's license number or Social"?
- 19 I don't. I'd agree with you it would be a 20 small number.
- 21 Prior to Helping America Vote Act, you
- 22 could register without a driver's license number or
- 23 Social?
- 24 A. I don't know if you could in Texas. I know
- 25 there was a period of time a long time ago. But before

- 1 The voter has to take responsibility to do that
- themselves. They have a mechanism for doing it
- electronically or they can fill out a paper
- 4 application. But over time as they try to vote by
- mail, that number is going to decrease. It will not
- 6 get bigger.
- 7 Did you see substantial movement in that
- 8 number between the March primary and the November
- 9 general?

- A. Not then, no. We didn't check then.
- 11 You didn't check to see how many people had
- 12 no driver's license number and no Social Security
- 13 number?
- That's right. We had already checked it at 14
- 15 the end of '21. And then we added as many as we could
- so we knew what the number was going into the end of
- the year, and we did it at the end of December '22? 17
- 18 Q. What was the change from the end of '21 to
- 19 the end of '22? 20 I don't know. I have got the end of '22
- numbers in my head, but I don't remember what they are. 21
- 22 I mean before we did anything at all, we had about a
- 23 million records that didn't have a driver's license,
- 24 and a million that didn't have a Social, right. We
- 25 had, I don't know, 160,000 that didn't have either one.



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Pages 142 to 145 Page 142 Page 144 1 At the end of '22 we have got 389 that have a DL, but 1 Α. Sure. Absolutely. 2 no Social, and we have got 298 that have a Social but Q. Do you trust the post office? We already no DL. We have got 93,000 that don't have either one. 3 discussed concerns that were raised with your office Do you expect substantial further changes directly about rejection of mail ballots. Were these 4 in decreasing that -- those numbers moving forward? 5 concerns valid? MS. HUNKER: Objection, form. 6 6 A. I don't know. 7 BY THE WITNESS: 7 MR. FREEMAN: Take a break for a minute. 8 A. I don't know what you mean by substantial. 8 (WHEREUPON, a recess was had.) I expect that the numbers are going to decrease over 9 BY MR. FREEMAN: 10 time. They are never going to get bigger than they are 10 Thank you, Mr. Ingram. I will pass you to 11 now. They will decrease. Ms. Perales. But I think we all need a lunch break 11 12 BY MR. FREEMAN: 12 before then. 13 Q. Okay. Did the rate at which they 13 Α. Great. 14 decreased -- strike that. 14 (WHEREUPON, a recess was had.) 15 Did the share of numbers that you 15 **EXAMINATION** decreased -- you know what, we will move on then. 16 BY MS. PERALES: 16 Mr. Ingram, do you know what share of We are back on the record. Mr. Ingram, my 17 17 18 voters cast ballots by mail in November of '22? 18 name is Nina Perales and I represent the LUPE 19 19 Plaintiffs. I'm with MALDEF. We know each other, A. I don't. 20 Do you know if it was greater or lessor 20 don't we? 21 than the share that cast ballots by mail in November of 21 A. We do. We have met in the past usually at the 22 2018? 22 Q. 23 A. I don't know. I think it would probably be 23 legislature? 24 comparable number to 2018. It was less than 2020. 24 Agreed. A. 25 Do you know whether turnout in general was 25 Q. Yes. You have been to so many more Page 143 higher in 2022 or lower in 2018? 1 hearings than I have, much to your credit. A. I don't remember. They were both quite a 2 I am going to endeavor not to tread the 3

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lot higher than normal mid-term elections, but I think 4 '22 may have been a little less.

Q. To your knowledge, did March 2022 ballot rejection deter some eligible voters from trying to vote by mail in November?

7 8

A. No idea.

9 Did any election administrators or clerks 10 indicate to you that voters were concerned about mail

11 ballot rejection in November of 2022?

12 A. Well, as you can see from the email, voters 13 aren't shy about expressing directly to us. I don't

14 know if we have to rely on county officials for that.

Did any county officials indicate to you

that voters were concerned in November of 2022 about

17 ballot rejection?

15

18

25

Α. Not any more than normal.

19 Q. What's normal in terms of those types of 20 concerns?

21 Well, I mean whenever you send mail ballots 22 you are relying on the post office and you are relying

23 on whatever else. There is always trepidation until 24 you get confirmed that your ballot was accepted.

Are these concerns valid? Q.

same ground as Mr. Freeman did, but if that means that

from time to time I'm pausing or flipping pages 4

forward, it's only because I'm trying to make sure I

don't re-ask any questions that are in my outline. I

hope you don't take it as me trying to delay or 7

anything. If I'm quiet, I'm skipping questions. How

9 about that?

10

14

15

16 17

18

19

A. That's fine. Yes.

11 Q. Thank you. Thank you. Just a few more emails to go over with you along the same lines of 12 emails that Mr. Freeman went over with you? 13

Okay. Α.

> I'm going to mark those. Q.

MS. PERALES: Can we mark this one, please.

(WHEREUPON, a certain document was marked Deposition Exhibit No. 23,

for identification, as of 3/28/23.)

BY MS. PERALES: 20

21 Q. Mr. Ingram, can you identify this document?

22 It looks like an email to our office from

23 Barry Brandt, and the response.

24 Was it an email to -- well, it says the

25 email is addressed to elections internet. Is that the

